



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE
(SNCC)**

PART 4 OF 14

BUFILE: 100-439190 SECTION 6

11-3

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Section 6 of 19 sections

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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| OFFICE OF ORIGIN ATLANTA | DATE DEC 6 1967 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 5/5 - 11/14/67 |
| TITLE OF CASE STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) | REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] | |
| CHARACTER OF CASE IS - SNCC | | FILE NO. 14681 |

REFERENCES: Bureau letter to Atlanta dated 10/20/67, entitled, "STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE, IS - SNCC"

- P -

LEAD

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will forward and report any communist infiltration of SNCC and revolutionary type activities of this organization.

ADMINISTRATIVE

This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because it contains ~~accomplishments claimed~~

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| COPIES | AUTO | FUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | RECOVERIES | ACQUIT-TALS | CASE HAS BEEN: |
| | | | | | | | PENDING OVER ONE YEAR <input type="checkbox"/> YES PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS <input type="checkbox"/> YES |

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

- 9 - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6483) (RM)
- 1 - Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston, Illinois (Via Courier)
- 1 - Secret Service, Chicago (Via Courier)
- 1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
- 1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)

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| 100-439190-9-34X10 17 DEC 8 1967 | REC-153 SI-108 |
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COPIES: Chicago (100-439190)

Notations

19 MAY 22 1973
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 Campaign report 806 d

C. SEC.
 J. SEC.

information from [REDACTED] which was so classified and whose identity, if disclosed, would not be in the best interests of this country.

[REDACTED], mentioned in the details, is a source of the Chicago Office. Due to the relative inactivity of SNCC he has been unable to make contact with the Chicago Office, SNCC.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

157-2238
157-1653
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Chicago File

157-1687
157-2332
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157-2195
157-2004
157-2333

Chicago File

100-41977
100-41635

IMPORTANTS

Source

Location

Instant report,
100-40342-1473

100-40342-1538

CG 100-40342

Source

Location

[REDACTED]

100-40342-1296

[REDACTED]

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COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

- 1 - Region I, 113th MI Group,
Evanston, Illinois (Via Courier)
- 1 - Secret Service, Chicago (Via Courier)
- 1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
- 1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)

Copy to:

Report of:
Date:

SA [REDACTED]

Office: Chicago

DEC 6 1967

Field Office File #: 100-40342

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title:

STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character:

INTERNAL SECURITY - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING
COMMITTEE

Synopsis:

[REDACTED]

- P -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
Group 1
Excluded from
automatic down-
grading and
declassification

CG 100-40342

The Chicago Branch of SNCC opened an office on the second floor of 306 East 43rd Street, Chicago, Illinois, telephone 373-9025.



III. CHARACTER AND MEMBERSHIP

On May 5, 1967, SA [REDACTED] United States Customs, Chicago, Illinois, made available the following information from the Chicago Branch of SNCC office files which were then at Navy Pier undergoing a contraband inspection prior to shipment to [REDACTED]

Plans to Move the Chicago SNCC Office:

As most people in SNCC are aware, the Chicago office is located in an apartment where staff members and others reside. The reason for this being done in the first place was chiefly for reasons of economy. The condition has always been considered temporary, and at present plans are being made to move the office within the next month.

Several locations are being considered. One plan is that a location be found large enough for several offices, with ACT, SNCC, CORE, the Deacons and maybe others joining together in one building with meeting space used jointly by all, that would be known as the Chicago Black Power Movement.

JOYCE BROWN, of the Atlanta office, will be joining the Chicago SNCC staff and MICHAEL WRIGHT is presently here working on a campus program. It is felt that with a new location it will be much easier to schedule volunteer workers on a regular basis and that the entire image of SNCC in Chicago will be improved.

Plans for a Chicago Black Power Movement

Last summer, SNCC instigated a week Black Power Forum that now meets weekly at the ACT office (for lack of space at the SNCC office.) One of the prime purposes of the forum was to set up a dialogue out of which we hoped would come unity of the Black organizations in this town.

At present, it appears that this unity will be brought about in the near future. There are plans for ACT, CORE, SNCC, Deacons and the Afro-American Students Association to take offices in the same building with joint meeting space to be known as the Chicago Black Power Movement.

There are still a number of problems to be worked out. BOB LUCAS is presently working on the problem that Chicago SNCC is integrated and cannot join the Black Power Movement until this is changed.

The above mentioned groups feel that with more unity, joint actions could be taken on many levels that would give all of us much more strength than when we stand alone.

Fund Raising in Chicago

Chicago SNCC receives \$125.00 per month in regular pledges plus some irregulars. In addition, over the past year, we sold an average of \$125.00 per month, posters, black power buttons, books, etc. Since our total receipts for the past year added up to approximately \$4,500.00 that means that the rest of the money, or another average of \$125.00 per month was raised from the 'emergency appeal' technique, by letter or direct phone solicitation.

Our expenses, since we have been in operation here in Chicago have averaged close to \$400.00 per month, so that we have been able to keep the books fairly well balanced and remain self-supporting. However, now that we plan to relocate the office, it is evident that our expenses will go up at least a projected \$100.00 per month.

The one area of fund-raising that has not been utilized in Chicago is money raised at parties, rallies, raffles, dances and the like, chiefly because we had no one to work on such affairs, on an on-going basis. We do have knowledgeable

people available to work on committees for such affairs but have no one to co-ordinate the work and do the publicity. It is our plan to seek out and find someone who can handle this job, if necessary we will pay them a salary.

If at least one fairly large fund raising affair is held each month, we feel that we can cover the additional expenses of the office. If these affairs are held in the black community, as planned, this will continue the current shift away from white financial support, and involve many more people in the black community than we presently are reaching with leaflets and personal contacts.

In addition to our regular fund-raising we have been fairly successful in establishing a bail bond fund for Chicago SNCC. This is discussed in another report.

Produce Boycott Project:

The Chicago SNCC on the South Side and West Side ACT on the West Side are planning and have begun work on a Produce boycott. We feel that we have to get started somewhere, as far as economics is concerned and choose the idea of a produce boycott because of the prevalence of black produce peddlers in the black community as an alternate market for the people that was already available.

We plan to begin with an educational campaign, showing the people how much more they pay for bad fruit and vegetables in the chain stores than people do in other communities. The black peddlers have already agreed to work with us and will stock up when the boycott is formally called.

After the initial educational campaign we intend to concentrate on particular stores and get them to agree to buy from a black trucker. We are working on getting a truck and setting up this business. The Freedom Drivers, who have access to trucks, have agreed to help on this part of the project. We intend to open Co-operative produce stores.

We intend to see that eventually in the black community, the produce market from wholesaler to retailer will belong to black people. After we achieve this goal, we can begin to work on other areas of economics in the community.

The Role of Chicago SNCC In Aiding
And Organizing Other Groups:

Chicago SNCC spends much time aiding and helping other organizations in the Chicago area. We do mimeographing, for the cost of materials used only, design leaflets, plan boycotts, and send people to speak to groups and otherwise act as a consultant about all kinds of problems.

There is a group in Waukegan, Illinois, that is very strong. After the riots there last summer, we were asked to help them in setting up an organization. They have patterned themselves after SNCC and use SNCC materials. They are a Black Power group. They held a very successful Christmas boycott against the downtown stores and are planning further economic and political action. This group of young militant black men depends on Chicago SNCC for advice. They feel that we are their only contact with 'the movement'.

In addition, we regularly help FRANK DJITTO's OCCP, the Upepo Ibada School (an independent black school) ACT, South Suburban SNCC and others, such as the Protectorights.

One of the reasons behind this help is that we feel the more groups and people we help that are interested in black power, the more of a buffer zone will be created by the people between SNCC and the power structure.

When we have more personnel, we intend to spend even more time in this area of work because there have been requests for help in other areas, for example in Milwaukee that we have been unable to fulfill.

Plans For the Political Campaign in Chicago

Last summer, several of the community groups in the area and SNCC got together and decided to run a local grass-roots candidate for Alderman in the February 28, 1967, election. These included, PRESTON HARWELL of the Kenwood Oakwood Community Conference (KOCO), FRANK DITTO, of the Oakland Committee for Community Improvement (OCCI), and people from the Protectorights. They were supported in this by DAVID REED (the Republican who ran against DAWSON) and his New Breed Committee, who are very strong in the west end of the ward, where we have few people.

Early this fall, CARL TUNSTALL of the Protectorights was chosen. CARL has lived in this community for 18 years and is well known. His was the first black family on the block, and he was one of the original organizers of the Protectorights. Just about this time [REDACTED] went to jail, where he stayed until the middle of December while his people prepared an appeal, so he was eliminated from any participation in planning. Next, KOCO fired [REDACTED] which finished him in the community. They exist only on paper and have no strength in the north (black) end of the ward. KOCO is a white, church backed group, from the south end of the ward, that tried to organize in this end basically for political reasons. It is evident to us that [REDACTED] was fired for backing CARL, when the white people had someone else in mind. This winter DAVID REED began vacillating, and tried to find a New Breed Candidate from outside the Ward. First he put forth a woman and then dropped her and found a man named LAMAR HOKE who is going to run. HOKE and our candidate have an agreement to work our separate areas, and if either man shows a much greater chance of winning the other will pull-out and support him.

In addition to HOKE, the Republican organization has decided to run a man named BUFORD, who stands as much chance as a proverbial snowball. The white controlled

Independent Voters of Illinois (IVI) have come out for HOKE, but have not announced formally. The area that they cover (the south end) has only about 15% of the voters, and traditionally is liberal and votes against HOLLIAN anyways. The way it has turned out, HOKE thinks that KOCO and IVI have strength in the north end but they only have paper organizations up here and our candidate is the only legitimate one. The Protectorights have 300 members, young men in the twenties who are pledged to work for CARL and in addition we will pull our Black Power workers and others from other groups.

Our biggest problem of the moment is to get the petitions accepted so that CARL will be on the ballot. They will be turned in on Monday, January 9th. As far as the type of campaign we are going to run, it will be very unorthodox, because we plan to work entirely on the grass roots level.

On Chicago's west side, DOUG ANDREWS of ACT and ED CRAWFORD of the Deacons will be running for Alderman in the 28th and 29th wards as Black Power candidates.

Report On The Raid on The Home of CARL TUNSTALL,
Black Power Candidate for 4th Ward Alderman, January 1, 1967

SNCC and the Protectorights (local organization, working with SNCC) planned to announce that CARL was running for Alderman at a New Years eve party at his house. The party had the additional purpose of raising funds for the campaign and hoped to attract additional volunteer workers from the community. A mailing was done to all SNCC black power workers and supporters and leaflets were passed in the community. It had been planned that an announcement would be made right after midnight that CARL was running.

A few minutes after midnight, about eight detectives, with drawn guns kicked down the door. At that time there was a crowd of people in the hall putting on their coats, etc. The police were very rough in their treatment of persons at the party and there were several incidents of violence, people being struck, and thrown about. The house was ransacked, clothing and personal belongings thrown on the floor, etc. About twenty people got out through a basement exitway and one man jumped out of the window and escaped (from the 2nd floor).

At first, the police said that those who had their identification could leave, and let several people go after taking names and addresses. Upon the arrival of a uniformed Sergeant, who did not approve of this, no one else was released. Nineteen women, twenty six men and six girls aged 17 (who were considered minors) were arrested. The SNCC photographer, [REDACTED] was able to take several photos of the officers at the raid, but was kicked and thrown down the stairs.

It was evident that [REDACTED] ordered the raid from the manner that the police openly talked about it. Because of the obvious political implications of the raid, a total of \$1,500 for bail was raised within a period of 24 hours. Most of this money was loaned to SNCC and will be repaid when the bail is returned from the courts. All persons were bailed out on January 1st except [REDACTED] who had to have a judge set his bail on January 2nd. The minors were released to their parents, [REDACTED] was charged with: 1. Keeper of a disorderly house. 2. Contributing to the delinquency of minors. 3. Sale of liquor without a license. 4. Marijuana on the premises; and everyone else was charged with being the inmate of a disorderly house (the same penalty as disorderly conduct). The court date is January 16, 1967.

The local community is well aware of what happened. Later the night of the raid, the local gang kicked out half the windows in the stores along 43rd Street. The raid was announced

over the radio on news broadcasts but did not appear in the newspapers. Later in the week the Chicago Defender printed a good story with front page headline stating that we charged a frame-up. Jet magazine and Muhammad Speaks will take interviews later in the week.

Chicago SNCC Bail Bond Fund

At the time of the arrests in Atlanta, September, 1966, when several members of the Chicago SNCC staff were among those arrested, the discussion about the need for a Bail Bond fund began to get results. The funds raised at that time, were sent south and used there for our people. A total of \$558.00 was sent south and many other people in the area were solicited who sent their contributions directly. At the time of the first raid in Chicago, December 3, 1966, additional money was raised for CAROL REDMOND's bail and \$1,500 was raised as a result of the raid of January 1, 1967. In addition to straight contributions, we are asking people to loan money to the fund, on the condition that it will be returned after either a set period of time or upon their request if needed.

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| At present we have on hand: | 902.50 |
| plus due on bonds: | <u>931.00</u> |
| | 1833.50 |
| Loans to be repaid: | <u>1125.00</u> |
| | 708.50 |

projected assets, subject to possible fines that may be deducted from bonds on some 60 court cases now pending.

It is our intention to use this bond fund, not only for SNCC people, but also community people (as in the January 1st raid) we determine have a need that develops in connection with our work on the campaign. We protect our money by having it returned to SNCC instead of the person bonded out.

A campaign is planned to raise this fund to several thousand dollars. A separate bail account will be opened as soon as the bond money is returned from the majority of the court cases this month.

Police Review Board

Chicago SNCC is planning a community police review board. There are several other organizations such as ACT, CORE, Deacons, etc. who are interested. This review board would have no legal powers of course, but would review flagrant cases of police brutality and the like publicly, with a view to stirring up public protest. It is projected that in some cases, where the actual case did not receive justice in the courts either, a mock trial would be held with actual lawyers and the defendants if possible to demonstrate the injustice. These hearings would be held in the black community and be publicized and open to the public.

Chicago SNCC Press Relations

It was reported to this office, that a definite decision had been made that new SNCC policy was not to have anything to do with the white press. This decision coincides with Chicago SNCC policy of granting interviews to particular reporters with the black press who have proven to be sympathetic to our views. We have a very good relationship with Jet magazine staff, several reporters for the Chicago Defender newspaper and the staff of Muhammad Speaks (who will print any story we wish to release). We also granted an interview with the Militant, who seem to have a history of printing only news sympathetic with SNCC views.

We also heard that it was SNCC's Chairman's decision that there should be no releases about raids on SNCC offices, etc. Since the raids that have taken place here were obviously carried out because of the fact that we are supporting and working for CARL TUNSTALL, candidate for 4th Ward Alderman, and were not just against SNCC per se, we felt that some news about this going to the black press was necessary. All news interviews are given with SNCC and Protectorights members [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] jointly.

One of the problems here in Chicago about the black press is that it is very weak. That is, the black community reads three times as many white papers as the black paper. There is no possible way to leaflet the entire black community of the city because it is too large and spread out. In the light of these facts we would like to know what Atlanta recommends.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 11/6/67)

The Chicago Branch of SNCC has eight members who have been active in SNCC affairs during the summer of 1967.

[REDACTED]

IV. PRINCIPAL OFFICERS OF CHICAGO BRANCH, SNCC

JOYCE BROWN - Administrative Director, Chicago branch of SNCC is now residing in Atlanta, Georgia. Her stay in Atlanta is believed to be only temporary.

[REDACTED] 10/1 and 11/67)

A pretext inquiry at SNCC Office, 306 East 43rd Street, on September 26, 1967, reflected that JOYCE BROWN was out of town for a temporary stay of time.

JOYCE BROWN related the following personal background information on September 8, 1967:

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

JOYCE BROWN will leave Chicago shortly to move to a southern city believed to be New Orleans, Louisiana. She intends to retain control of the Chicago Branch of SNCC operations and return periodically to direct local SNCC activities.

ROBERT BROWN (no relation to JOYCE BROWN), a member of the Chicago chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) would like to direct local SNCC activities. It is not believed that JOYCE BROWN would turn over control to BROWN as he is relatively young and inexperienced, 19 years of age, and unemployed.

[REDACTED] 9/21/67)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A "Chicago Daily News" article of August 11, 1967, page 3, column 1, entitled, "The Outsiders: Who Are The Leaders?", states that the ghetto Negro has little faith in leaders, black or white, who often claim to represent him. According to the article, he is sure the so-called "moderates" of the "accepted" Negro organizations do not speak for him. Included in this group were Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,; WHITNEY YOUNG of the National Urban League; and ROY WILKINS of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

The article states that several organizations say they have something to offer him, and it is usually summed up in two words: Black Power. The article further states that in general-although there may be exceptions-they are not squeamish about whether or not that power is achieved through violence. Among the organizations mentioned were CORE (headed by ROBERT REEB) and SNCC.

According to the article, SNCC, located at 306 East 43rd Street, is headed by a former Xavier University (New Orleans)

sociology student, JOYCE BROWN, 22. The article states that SNCC's resources are even more depleted than CORE, and the two often use each other's office facilities or, take each other's messages.

"LUCAS is firm in his belief that black men must direct their own destinies in a black society, as Miss BROWN believes. But, whereas LUCAS is willing to give the American democratic process one more chance for Negroes to achieve "black" political power, Miss BROWN has lost all faith in it.

Violence, she believes, appears to be "the only method." Pressed on whether she believes it can really achieve Negro equality in all areas of American life, she said: 'well if you don't get all of the bread, at least you get the baker to begin thinking about it; at least you get a slice of it.' The 'Baker' in the analogy is 'white society'."

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ALBERT MONROE SHARP and CAROL LEE REDMOND no longer direct SNCC operations in Chicago.

[REDACTED] 3/3/67)

On April 21, 1967, [REDACTED] advised that [REDACTED] accompanied by [REDACTED] left approximately 90 boxes and packages at the Chicago Export and Packing Company, 9500 South Cottage Grove, Chicago, on April 18, 1967, to be crated for shipment to Africa.

The shipment was to be crated and shipped to [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]

One of the packages was improperly prepared for shipment and was found to contain a loaded .38 caliber snubnose pistol of Japanese manufacture and 30 rounds of .30 caliber carbine ammunition. The United States Customs was advised of these facts.

On May 1, 1967, [REDACTED] United States Customs, advised that [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] rented a truck from the Lake Park Rentals, 6120 South Cottage Grove. They proceeded to the Chicago Export and Packing Company where the 90 packages now placed in 6 large cases, were loaded on the truck. They proceeded to Frame 1, Navy Pier, where the cases were unloaded.

On May 3, 1967, a shipper's export declaration (SED), prepared by [REDACTED] Chicago, was received at Customs Office, 610 South Canal. The SED No. [REDACTED] dated May 3, 1967, declared 6 boxes of household goods weighing 8,650 pounds, to be shipped to [REDACTED]. The shipper was shown as [REDACTED]. No mention was made on the SED of any firearms nor was a license issued by the State Department for exportation of firearms.

On May 5, 1967, the shipment was examined by Customs and found to contain a .7mm Japanese rifle, bayonet and approximately 1000 rounds of .22, .30, .38, and 7mm caliber ammunition in addition to the loaded pistol. They were confiscated for violation of Title 22, Section 401, United States Code.

Section 123.52 of the regulation pertaining to International Traffic in Arms would allow the exportation of no more than 3 non-automatic firearms and 1000 rounds of ammunition providing they were declared and presented for examination.

On May 8, 1967, these facts were discussed with Assistant United States Attorney LAWRENCE MORRISSEY by Custom Agent [REDACTED] who declined prosecution in favor of administrative action.

On May 9, 1967, the cargo, less guns and ammunition, was loaded on "Normac Pride" which sailed that evening for East Africa.

During the search of [REDACTED] cargo on May 5, 1967, it was noted that the shipment contained a four-drawer filing cabinet containing the files of Chicago Branch of SNCC, which contained the 1966 receipts and disbursements, office address book, black power workers list, key contacts list, friends of SNCC list and correspondence.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 8/7/67)

On July 31, 1967, Special Agent [REDACTED] United States Customs, advised he received a letter from [REDACTED] also known as [REDACTED] dated July 6, 1967, postmarked [REDACTED] petitioning for the return of her confiscated weapons and ammunition. She indicated her attorney, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED], would handle the necessary arrangements. She explained the circumstances surrounding her failure to file the necessary papers prior to shipping these items out of the country. They are to be shipped to [REDACTED] in care of [REDACTED]. [REDACTED] stated this request will be granted.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 8/23/67)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

ROBERT BROTH, member of CORE, is presently directing the operations of the Chicago Branch of SNCC in the absence of

CG 100-40342

JOYCE BROWN and is being assisted by an individual known only as MICHAEL. He expects JOYCE BROWN to return to Chicago from the south for a brief visit.

[REDACTED] 10/30/67)

[REDACTED] 10/25/67)

[REDACTED] 8/21/67)

The CP of Illinois at the present time exercises no influence within the Chicago Branch of SNCC.

[REDACTED] 4/24/67)

[REDACTED] 11/6/67)

National Conference For
New Politics (NCNP)

On August 30, 1967, JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, was observed in attendance at NCNP, Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois.

[REDACTED] 9/1/67)

The NCNP national convention was held in the Palmer House Hotel in Chicago, Illinois, from Tuesday, August 29 through Monday, September 4, 1967. The convention was attended by more than 3,500 registered delegates, observers, etc. A broad spectrum of left wing groups was represented (the delegates claimed to represent almost 30,000 activists) including peace, civil rights, "new politics," student groups, a small group of trade unionists, nationality groups, women's organizations. This convention included almost all the forces involved in what is referred to by leftists as "the Movement".

Three main political groups were represented at this convention. There was a "black caucus" which included most of the Negroes attending and from which all whites were excluded. This caucus took ultra-militant, pro-nationalist positions and strongly supported the "black power" line advanced by SNCC and CORE. An ultra-nationalist section of this caucus opposed any unity with whites and attempted to pull all Negroes out of the convention into an "all-black" convention which was hastily organized and held in the Chicago ghetto at the same time the New Politics meeting took place. This effort was defeated. The fight to keep the caucus in the convention was led, according to participants in the caucus, by the Communist Negroes.

Another main political tendency among the whites was that which supported the concept that the main emphasis of the convention should be on organizing a third ticket (a peace and freedom ticket) in 1968. Many in this grouping supported the idea of MARTIN LUTHER KING-BENJAMIN SPLOCK ticket. This grouping was dominated by Communists functioning through DCA and many other organizations in which they are active. Also included in this tendency were many pro ROBERT KENNEDY liberals, including a number of the original organizers of the New Politics organization, who were seeking a third ticket as a means of weakening LYNDON JOHNSON's campaign for re-election in 1968, insuring his defeat, and laying the basis for a ROBERT KENNEDY campaign in 1972.

The third main tendency at the convention, again among the whites, was in support of local community organizing (along the lines of the Vietnam Summer campaign) and in adamant opposition to a national third ticket in 1968.

The "third ticket" grouping and the "local organizing" grouping split the white delegates almost evenly. The black caucus refused at first to participate in the convention unless its demands were accepted en toto by the whites. These demands (13 of them) calling for full support for black power, support for the demands of the Newark Black Power conference, a campaign to "civilize the white beasts," etc. were accepted by a split vote of the white delegates after a floor fight led by the Communists. The main debate was over one demand which condemned Zionist Israel imperialism. A number of delegates, particularly those who were Jewish, had a difficult time swallowing this demand.

Then the black caucus refused to participate unless it was given 50 per cent of the voting power at the convention. (The Black Caucus represented about 20 per cent of the actual convention.) Since the Black Caucus voted as a unit, this demand meant that they would have veto control of the convention. This demand was also accepted after a sharp debate. The support for this demand was mobilized and led by the Communists, including several speakers from DCA. Speakers against the position were booed and hooted down. The CP took control of the microphones and made certain that its speakers got the floor. The 50 per cent control demand of the black caucus was accepted by a split vote. After this several whites withdrew and there was much grumbling and dissatisfaction among white delegates about lack of democracy, etc., but the convention was held together.

The Black Caucus proposed (and had accepted by the convention) a proposal which endorsed both local organizing and a third ticket effort if that proved possible. A national board was elected of 24 persons, six from the community organizing white caucus, six from the third ticket white caucus, and

twelve from the black caucus. This board is to meet September 30 to work out future strategy.

Although it is a shaky alliance, the convention ended with a unity between radical whites and the ultra-militant black forces in this country. The Communist Party achieved a major part of what it hoped to achieve at this convention.

1. It sought a unity of the various forces in the "movement," including black power, peace, youth, community organization, left labor, etc. A beginning toward this unity was established.

2. It sought a commitment by the convention toward a national third ticket in 1968. The convention did not come out completely for this proposal, but it did endorse the idea of a third ticket where possible.

3. It sought an increased influence in left politics in the country. There is no question that the CP emerged from this convention as a dominant influence in the New Politics movement.

DCA emerged from the convention as perhaps the best organized youth group participating. DCA caucuses had up to 100 participants, including sizable numbers of non-DCA young people. DCA speakers were often heard on the convention floor. DCA leaders regarded the New Politics convention as a huge plus for DCA.

9/22/67)

H. RAP BROWN, National Director, SNCC, Atlanta, Georgia, spoke on the evening of September 3, 1967, to a black power caucus group of NCRP at the Palmer House in Chicago.

(The following is a transcript of remarks made by
H. Rap Brown, on September 3, 1967, at Chicago.)

In 1964 the first real manifestation of black power since Reconstruction (illegible) Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party went to Atlantic City to challenge the Democratic Party. The people from Mississippi are honkies who have been representing black people for years. Now the Democratic Party told the MFDP that we don't need you. Now what you see here and what's significant about what you done done now is that you illustrated the use of black power. In other words you told this convention we've got to all come around or we gonna close you down. The most significant thing about power is that it comes from the word that means power. The black people have always had power but they refused to be powerful with their power. Now this is an illustration of this power, if you put it to use here. What we're working on is to broaden our political scope because this meeting here is behind Detroit. We're not even speaking as to where Detroit is at this moment. (illegible) because it has often been said that politics is war without bloodshed. Detroit is sending her politics to the streets. They were not speaking of the '68 election in terms of legality. They didn't even concern themselves with that. In other words, Detroit went to war and they put their politics where their mouth was. Now what

we are doing is that we are talking about politics in a legal sense. I don't know how well that's going to work because you see the Democratic Party is the Republican Party vice versa. Now you're going to talk about how black people can afford....talk about radical, political, reform in the (illegible) American Society as it's (illegible). That's the white folks job. We have to begin to talk about revolution. I just want to see (illegible) the Democratic Party who say they have Dixiecrats and that's a lie. There is no such thing as a Dixiecrat. The only difference between Lyndon Johnson and George Wallace is that one of their wives got cancer. There is no difference whatsoever. Only reason Goldwater got defeated was because he was honest. He told people what he was going to do. Johnson got in there and told Goldwater, Goldwater, if you start something (illegible) Now when you start talking about revolution, then you can begin to identify with the struggles abroad. So easy to not operate in a vacuum. It's not isolated from the black people here. The fighting over in Puerto Rico, in Venezuela, in Guatemala, is not isolated from the fighting over here. The fighting has been (illegible) is not isolated from the fighting that goes on here because the liberation of black folks in America depends upon the liberation for the other worlds bearing upon

the liberation of black people across the world. In other words we here feel that a monster (illegible) can't be destroyed from here, we have to destroy it. We got to keep everybody's freedom in other words. To shed some light upon the word coalition. If you look at what happened to (illegible) move toward Watson. They were (illegible) power, so what we want to talk about and what you told the honkies was that we'll talk alliance with you, but we ain't gonna talk no coalition. We ain't gonna (illegible) no coalition. In other words, you have to come down to the position way we (illegible) fits our needs. On those grounds, we can have an alliance. But to talk about coalition is to say that we have common power and my problem ain't common with nobody that calls themselves a hero upon my freedom. 'Cause I'm fanatic about it. In terms of leadership of the movement, they say also that leadership should never be shared, it should always remain in the hands of the dispossessed. That was the mistake we made in the civil rights movement. We won't make that mistake no more. We gonna have to broaden our concept because there are other dispossessed people in America besides blacks who (illegible), we need as allies, the Indian, the Mexican American...we have to be political in

every sense. You cannot move to alienate these people because when we taking care of business with the honkies, that we ain't do it right. We are not doing it for all dispossessed people - there are other dispossessed people who are going to get together and take care of business themselves (illegible) we through.

One thing about freedom. It will make you fight any enemy. If you are not free, you will fight any enemy. That has been one of the black man's make-up. That's the difference in the black man's impeccable will to be free that has made him fight for this country. It will be that same will that will make him fight this country. So what we got to do if we are to be political, is that we have to develop an ideology to go along with the rebellion because they are way out front of our political know-how and our political knowledge. You're going to have to start talking about black nationalism whether you like it or not. 'Cause if you expound anything else in America, it is not black nationalism, it is white nationalism. So if I have the choice of teaching black nationalism and white nationalism, you know the one I'm going to take. Because look at what happened. Now anything your community chest don't control is a weapon against you. It is used as a weapon against you. You don't control the politics in your community and that's a weapon against you. They can keep you in slum houses because you

don't control it. If you don't control public education, that's a weapon against you because what started this movement is white nationalism. You must control black (illegible) and black entertainers in your community or they can be used as weapons against you. So what you got to do is get yourselves in control but in a country like America, that's one thing that machines control. Being able to control your community that's being able to defend your community. If you can't defend it, you can't control it. In Plainfield, New Jersey, one of the most successful rebellions held in the country, along with the Mexican rebellion (illegible). The land organizations that held the honkies out of the hills over freedom (illegible). Now Plainfield (illegible) don't love the black people in Plainfield any more than they love black people in Detroit. But they refused to go to Plainfield because the brothers there kept (illegible) because they had weapons. They told me that each one of those guns can shoot 200 times at (illegible) for a half hour. They refused to go in there because (illegible) they say that we can't go in there because the niggers got guns. So I say I don't care if they only control this (illegible) but two days that was controlled. The result of being able to defend (illegible) to show that they (illegible) to that control.

The white man gang on the brothers and say, okay, we're going to start an alliance, and say, let me come in and look for guns (illegible) because they're here. (Illegible), the National Guard, and in their frustration because they didn't find guns, they began to destroy private property. The word went out immediately you kick down one more door, and we're going to shoot your leg off. They left the community.

Plainfield's still got their guns. They still got their guns. You have to recognize that America is at war with black people any time they put tanks in Detroit (illegible). You can't be nothing else but at war. America is very seriously contemplating, not only contemplating, but she's putting into effect the genocide of black people. But you have to discuss their political being. The white folks can't understand if you're being exterminated - tough! Because it is no accident that 30% of the casualties in Viet Nam is blacks. It is no accident that 22% of their fighting force in Viet Nam is black. (illegible) different reasons. Ours (illegible) fight the honkies. Look at what happens in Alabama every year. In America, the country that can send millions of dollars to Viet Nam to insure freedom. The country that can shoot people to the moon. Over 500 kids died each year for lack of proper

food and nourishment in Alabama alone. Alabama is (illegible). They instituted a program called the stamp program, which replaced the old (illegible) thing they had down there. They gave horse meat to eat, and they gave them a stamp program and told them for \$10 you can get \$40 worth of food, but they didn't say where to get the \$10. The party's behind that program. What the courts of America doesn't (illegible). This is still America, the land of the free. People who fought World War II to make democracy safe for the world - makes this world safe for democracy. These people who go before justice under our juries, you can expect the maximum fine and the maximum sentence if you're black. Justice is a joke in America. It stinks with its own hypocrisy. Lyndon Johnson is Hitler's illegitimate child, and J. Edgar Hoover is an ass.

Every time we play their games, be it politics, be it law, we fall into their trap because we gave them a license to kill us. The cops got license to kill niggers, and we jump, we go for it. They tell you about a birth control program that its most biggest effect is on the black community. (illegible). What they are doing is that they are putting an end to your race. They telling you that they don't want you to reproduce your seed. In other words, they say we ain't got

but 29 concentration camps and if you all keep reproducing at the rate you're going, they will then have to build some new ones. But these concentration camps are real. They got 13 of them that are already in operation right now. Right now. I hate to repeat it, I know you don't believe what black folks say, but that's what we call concentration camps in the United States built by honkies for niggers. But understand this, a lot of folks say that this don't apply to me. Me and Carmichael can't fill all 13 concentration camps. (Illegible) if you don't believe this, look beside you, you might be in it.

The man is moving to exterminate black people because he posed a problem. He had a surplus of niggers on his hand. (Illegible) you know what he does with surplus food - he dumps it in the ocean. In other words, we were brought here to do work-we have outlived our usefulness. We are not to join the leisure class that Attorney General Ramsey Clark talks about when he says within 20 years, but that can be five, ten, or 15 years, the entire population will lead a leisure nature, and only 20% of that population will man the work force, because of cybernation and automation, and then you look to see who has training for the cybernation part of the jobs. It's white boys. That's who. White boys are going to push the button to run the machines of (illegible). It appears to me we have outlived

our usefulness. We were brought here as slaves to work - there is no more work. We are a problem to America. That's what the concentration camps are about. If you don't think those concentration camps exist, if you're going to take the honkies word, you ride around on one of these Army bases that they been closing down. (Illegible) you heard them talk about closing Army bases, and see what they did to it. Right here. I think black folks had better put America on notice. Detroit put her on notice. She said that if you choose to play Nazis, we ain't gonna play too. So we must begin to address ourselves for a new type of politics. A politics that is relevant to the Indian, to the Mexican, to the Latin American who jumped over here. You can't talk politics that's relevant to Bobby Kennedy, Bobby Kennedy is one of them chief exploiters. I can hardly say (illegible) I saw smoke (illegible). I wonder what happened to Lee Harvey Oswald now that we need him. You always (illegible) go for the results. It ain't only Johnson, it's Rockefeller, it's Kennedy, it's all them honkies who sitting up there holding their anti-black rallies in Congress.

In 1964, at Atlantic City, it was Minnesota backs Humphrey. (Illegible-applause) Minnesota to go packing to go home. They say they'll let one or two of you in but black

folks can't govern themselves - you ain't ready - that's the same old line. And you went for it chumps. You still talk about voting in the '68 elections. Don't talk about voting next year. That ain't politics (illegible) and I guarantee you next year there will be a national curfew on niggers. Probably ten o'clock every night. All that they will let you stay out too. See that anti-riot bill tells you where to travel, how to travel and if you can travel. It wasn't only for myself and Carmichael. There's a new bill that's called the food bill that's coming up. That bill says that in time of conflict, you can't defect against the United States and its policy and in time when she does not engage in conflict, there can only be certain types of dissent. There goes free speech. Now remember this and keep this in mind. You are only three-fifths in the constitution here. In other words, they write you out. That gun bill. If the gun bill was a legitimate working bill, it would talk about taking the gun from the gestapo honkie cops. Because technologically, they don't need guns to apprehend the criminals. They have all types of ways. See what they're rewriting is they are writing it so that they are deliberately writing you out of it. (Illegible). So you better start

saying like Johnson says in Viet Nam. Johnson says if Viet Nam don't come around, we gonna burn Viet Nam down. And I tell you if the United States don't come around, the black folks should have burned it down, but (illegible). Votes hold no relevancy. If you can't vote though, you choose. Comrade Mao says what better way to enslave a man than to give him the vote and call him free. We get a (illegible) once that says what would it prove a man who ever had to vote and not be able to vote for a candidate of his choosing. How can you choose between Lyndon Johnson and Goldwater. There is no lesser of evil there. Evil is evil. That's why they have to do this. It is just like freedom. You can't be almost free. You can't be a part free, and you can't be a second class citizen. You're either free or you're not. That's like folks tell me they can be a little bit pregnant. You can't be a little bit pregnant. You're either pregnant or you're lying and not telling the truth. So you can't be a little bit of America. You can't be a little bit a citizen. You're saved man. They apprehended me under the fugitive slave law in Virginia in 1967. So that says to me Abraham Lincoln wasn't hitting on too much when he signed the civil rights bill. Black folks are still slaves in America. We got to get away from talking about being misled

in his own game with his money too. Green power. There ain't no such thing as green power as long as that honky has got the power to change the color of money. (Illegible-applause) you gonna do...what you gonna do, if tomorrow we're gonna use red dirt. You gonna go out and work to try to make a million dollars. That's what you're going to do. (Illegible) understand this. The confederates, they all white brothers, they is cousins. They came up to the Negroes with money after the war, and what did we tell them. We use this stuff with Washington's picture on it. Yeah, that stuff. You know what they're doing with confederate money these days, they tack it on the walls. They use it for wallpaper down there. The man's got the power to determine the color of his money. He'll give you all the money in the world. I'll give you an example. The man can tell you, he tell all niggers to bring me some rocks and for every rock I'll give you a million dollars. And all the niggers in the world would have a million dollars in gray rocks until this man would have all the rocks in the world. And then he'd look at you and say well, tomorrow we'll start using rocks for money. So you have to use their power. Power is the word. Mao says power comes from the barrel of a gun. In Russia's revolution, guns

are not relevant. See, black people do not create situations of violence. Violence is brought into the black community by honkies. Folks accuse me of violence but it never talked about Lyndon Johnson who bombs villages with napalm bombs, bombs hospitals. You see, black folks don't know how to be violent. We should take a lesson in violence from the honkies. Lee Harvey Oswald is white. This honky who killed the eight nurses is white. The honkies down in the bowery who set these bums on fire is white. The honkies who flew the plane over Hiroshima and dropped the atomic bomb is white. We don't know nothing about bombs. But we heard it. (Illegible-applause) 'cause you'd act to where you don't want to hate nobody, even though you love everybody, and go to heaven. (Illegible). As you see (illegible) to the extent (illegible). If you can forget what happened to the Jews and talk about what the Germans did to them you can tell their histories. But instead of the black brothers talking about what the honkies did to him and what the honky does to him every day, no that's hate - (illegible) my foot. Junk! Junk! He was admiring you all's terms. He's gonna tell me you got power. You control. You don't even control your own lives. It's the man's choosing to

to put tanks into your community and what can you do about it. Absolutely nothing. Then you get mad at your brothers who have Molotov and are trying to take care of the tanks. (Applause) You see this tells you one thing about the poor. You don't think he knows where battle is, he knows where the war is already. Anything thing that Mao says about war. He says the poor cannot be trusted. They lie to close to the ground. Now about that. The people are scared of black power. What they going to do when it's time to use black power. (Applause). The man's not playing a game. It's not a game. When he pulls in paratroopers and sends them to Detroit and tells you that that's another Viet Nam. See, we are a colony inside America. Black people constitute a colony. An internal colony. Believe me, brother, after we have been digested, you know what happens to food after it's been digested. (illegible - applause) We are waste material. If you know what happens then - you know what you call it. (Applause). That's what the man is all about. He's out to take (pause) out of you. 'Cause you ain't nothing but a problem to him. You dig it so much until you teach your children to dig it. You teach them to love it. Now one of the greatest problems is I want to show you to be careful of white nationalism.

Santa Claus is an example of white nationalism. What's so repulsive and what's so criminal about Santa Claus is not only (illegible) Yankee-looking (illegible) and white. When he flies down the black chimney and comes out white again. (Illegible-applause) chumps save your money to buy kids gifts and tell them Santa Claus brought the gifts. So what happens in the kid's minds when mother starts to yell- when trouble starts in Detroit. He runs and tells the old man we ought to be cool, we might have to kill Santa Claus. Do not be deceived. A brother went out thinking he could buy just another bandaid, put it on his arm, and noticed a little (illegible) something was wrong with his skin. He doesn't know they didn't make black bandaids. In other words, black skin ain't mush. They got black people hating themselves. They keep themselves down. Because what they got to thinking about anything all black is bad. Black power is only a good joke and (illegible) black hens don't lay eggs. When you talk about devils whose faces are black faces, you talk about angels (illegible). When you talk about funerals you talk about dressing in black. When he talk about weddings you talk about white. The Biblical character that characterizes

blackness is Judas. In other words, Judas was black. That's evil. The word black has about 16 different definitions. All of them bad. Because the man behind has the power to devise and legitimize with their power. Those terms that we're using in other words, we are instilling white nationalism into the minds of ourselves and the minds of our children since birth. When we're first born. So what we have to get is to develop a political ideology that goes along with their movement. An ideology, brother, that does not separate us from other oppressed groups across the world. We must know what's going on in Rhodesia today. We've got to understand what happens in Rhodesia. Black people are fighting to get the same thing that we fighting over here. Only they are a majority. They are being oppressed by a few. That speaks to me about why the black people over here are not in control. They are never a majority at hand. It's always an organized minority. You don't need a majority. Quit using that as an excuse - we can't do nothing because we ain't together. Pretty soon we gonna be together in concentration camps or somewhere (Applause). If we don't believe Detroit ain't together, then go through there. That's no (illegible) Carmichael as middle class any more. There is no such a thing in a black middle class as far as America is

concerned. They don't kill you 'cause you got money or 'cause you don't have money. They kill you 'cause you're black, son. Lemuel Penn was a colonel in the United States Army who got shot in the head, just like Medgar Evers who was supposed to be a black middle class in Mississippi. Just like Ben Brown who was a worker for the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee. Just like the poor young girls who were killed in Alabama. They were black. We have one thing in common - they were black. The man kills you and he moves against you because you're black. Understand one other thing. Then I'll quit (illegible) they talk about they are going to move the National Guard. They are going to put more black people in the National Guard. That's a lot of jive man. They just got an order from Washington, D. C. that says all large metropolitan cities with an integrated police force, the white policemen should be notified that in times of rebellions they should try to disarm black police. If you all don't believe this check with the FBI, or with somebody you know who works with the FBI. That's because they understand things are going to be worse and that black people are only going to take so much and then his mama's coming. (Applause). Things are gonna get worse before they get better. Don't run about taking about how many houses

and turned and casualties. All wars have had casualties.
We were being killed non-violently before we started to
rebel. More people have died in the civil rights movement
non-violently than had died in all the rebellions. Death
is no stranger in the black community. We live through
death every day. Kind of job you perform is hatredness
nine times out of ten. And then they don't teach you but
so many jobs. That's also significant to note that in
terms of ratios, there are more handicapped people hired
than black folk. You see it's better to be born handicapped
in America than to be born black. That's what America
thinks about you. I says the white folks when they have
rebelled against (illegible) civilized and long before we have to
conquer and civilize them. (Applause). George Bernard
Shaw, another white man, says of America, he says this is
the only country that he knows that came from barbarism to
decadence without going through civilization. (Applause).
It's not our job to civilize honkies. The white folks, the
activists who considers themselves activists, who run around
saying we want to do so much who want to be missionaries
for the black folks - go home suckers. Let them go civilize
the Kennedys. Civilize George Wallace. Civilize Lyndon

Lightning Bird Johnson (Applause). Now understand that we at this point are only beginning to address ourselves to politics. Every move America makes is a political move. Understand when the Rams 17 got busted, that was a political move. That was a conspiracy on the part of the CIA. Just like the Statue of Liberty case where people were taking pictures (illegible). In other words, they had a gun bill in force and they needed a (illegible). They busted the Rams 17 therefore crushing in from the right wing and joined the Birchers and said we're going to give you a gun bill. When they did, they came back and they busted the smallest branch of the Minutemen that they could find. They did a whole lot of substituting. Yeah, but I tell Kennedy (illegible-applause). They came back and they busted the Minutemen and they generated pressure from the left. Then the people on the left began to take (illegible) at the whole problem. That wasn't good enough. They killed Rockwell. They also killed Rockwell, yeah, all over this place. (Illegible-applause). President Johnson, he knows who killed Rockwell, and then their next move is to the left. In other words, with poetic justice that he that lives by the sword, shall die by the sword. What they began to do is they going to hold myself and Carmichael as hostages for violence. Same thing as (illegible-applause). They believe anything Huntley and Brinkley says. (Applause). Black folks got more confidence

in Huntley and Brinkley than Catholics got in the Pope.
(Applause-laughter). We believe that we can control Viet
Nam and according to Huntley and Brinkley, we've killed
every enemy soldier in Viet Nam's streets. (Illegible-applause).
There ain't that many people in the country. You take how many
people we've killed. (Illegible) but understand one
thing why America is over there (illegible). It's not the
proper thing but it's just as plain, Eisenhower and his
people won't remember because of their ignorance. He
exposed (illegible).

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 9/28/67)

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)

The Chicago Branch of SNCC held an anti-draft conference on June 16 and 17, 1967, at Herman Hall, Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), 32nd and Federal Streets, Chicago. JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch, SNCC, made arrangements for the meeting and presided at the conference sessions.

Approximately 30 to 35 Negroes and three to four white people were in attendance at the evening session held on June 17, 1967. The major portion of the conference time was spent in discussing means of implementing anti-draft centers in the Chicago, Illinois, area. They would be strategically located to obtain the most extensive coverage of the area. The purpose would be to encourage draft age Negroes to refuse to enter military service. Volunteer workers from these centers would between centers contact Negro youths on an individual basis to encourage them to refrain from going into the Armed Forces.

Discussion occurred concerning methods to be used by Negro males to evade military service. They would be encouraged to lie about their physical and mental conditions in pre-military examinations. They would be encouraged to state they had homosexual tendencies, dress in an effeminate manner and complain of imaginary illnesses. In the event they pass the tests and are scheduled for induction they would be encouraged to go into a fugitive status. Negro women were encouraged to take these

fugitives into their homes and effectively hide them. They were encouraged to lie to any and all authorities attempting to locate the Negro males.

[REDACTED] 6/19/67)

On June 20, 1967, [REDACTED] Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT), 31st and Federal, Chicago, Illinois, advised [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] The student, PETER PRAN, is a graduate student of architectural engineering. PRAN has completed one year of a two year course and is an "A" student. He is an alien from Norway, who wishes to obtain his United States citizenship in the future. He is employed by the Skidmore Owings and Merrill Architects, 30 West Monroe, Chicago. //

PRAN is the leader of the SDS, IIT Chapter, which has a total of five students involved in SDS activities.

On June 15, 1967, PRAN requested permission for use of Herman Hall for an SDS function with outside friends also to be in attendance. PRAN violated a school rule in not applying four days in advance, however, permission was granted for use of the rooms since the SDS is a recognized campus political organization.

On June 16, 1967, [REDACTED] was informed by the Chicago Police Department that they would have men stationed on and near the campus for security reasons during the SNCC conference at Herman Hall, on June 16 and 17, 1967. This is the first indication [REDACTED] had that an outside organization would be in attendance at the so-called SDS affair. At approximately 7:00 PM, on June 16, 1967, he observed approximately 30 police in the immediate vicinity of Herman Hall. [REDACTED] then attended the evening session to determine if in fact this was an SDS conference.

PETER PRAN opened the conference by introducing several people including JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC who then generally presided over the session, and at the meeting 30 to 35 people were in attendance of which four were white and the remainder Negroes. Several were females and one woman brought her baby who cried throughout the session and generally made it difficult to hear the speakers. The discussion concerned the usual anti-draft and anti-Viet Nam diatribe. All of those present appeared to be above draft age.

Three white males spoke and introduced themselves as students of the University of California, Berkeley, as well as members of the Draft Resistance Organization. They claimed their club had 1,500 members in the California area. They asserted that in October, 1967, all of the members are going to meet in Berkeley and have a mass burning of their draft cards.

[REDACTED]

VI. SNCC MILITANT LITERATURE AND POSITION PAPERS

The attached leaflet entitled "The Young Black Militant" was obtained by [REDACTED] from Chicago Branch SNCC Office on August 24, 1967. The remaining leaflets and papers were obtained by [REDACTED] from Chicago Branch of SNCC Office between the dates July 26 and October 25, 1967.

RIOT BAN

STOP STOCKELY - RAP BILL

L. B. J. and his henchmen in the Racist, United States Government have committed still another Act of Aggression against the Black People by passing new legislation which would make it a Federal Crime to travel or communicate across state boundaries to incite, organize or encourage a riot. Conviction would carry a maximum penalty of \$10,000 fine and/or a 5 year Prison sentence.

IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN HOW THIS BILL CAN BE DEFINED OR WILL BE ENFORCED.

It is quite clear that the Reactionary mouth piece of Fools and Racist, Savage Dogs (two-legged), J. Edgar (OO Fool) Hoover, is trying to stir up Racial Hatred and create an internal enemy of Black People in order to Intensify and Justify the Atrocities and Concentration Camp Tactics that Black People are Subjected to daily in the subhuman ghettos of America. We are also aware that this aggression has reached the point where only mass Genocide and complete Extermination of Black People can be the ultimate goal.

WE NOW MAKE IT KNOWN THAT WE WILL DEFEND OUR COMMUNITIES, OUR WOMEN, OUR CHILDREN, OUR DIGNITY..... FROM ANY AND ALL RACIST ATTACKS.

..... BY DEFENDING BLACK PEOPLE BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY...

Communications Director SNCC
James Edwards

THE BLACKS



calling all BLACK BROTHERS & SISTERS

Once again the white power structure has shown us what they as a whole thought of Afro-Americans by putting more of our black brothers behind steel bars for foolish & not childish reasons. If we just stand by talking Black Power and do nothing but let the white devils take our Black Brothers who are villin, to relate to the white world the only possible way (complete destruction of the white beasts) than we are just wasting our time. I don't know about you, but if I am villin, to die for LAZY, SHIFTLSS NIGGERS Than I am also villin, to kill my worst enemy (the black hunky).

In closing, I would like to call my Black Brothers and Sisters to prepare to do battle with your beast oppressors. A call to my people to take your freedom by any means possible.. DEATH TO THE WHITE BEASTS...
BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK POWER BLACK

KILL UP ALL WHITE
D.C.

...again, the white power structure has escalated the war against the black people of America.

In their all out war to kill MLCC, these powers that be have made political prisoners out of black people who are fighting for their life and freedom.

up from the MLCC. Placed under excessive bondage in order to frighten other black and non-American people who would tell the truth to black people about the evil white government, and encourage those black people to seek means for survival.

Stonely, Carmichael

-----: Threats of arrest upon his return to this country, for "reasonous acts" upon telling the truth to Latin American and Vietnamese about the enslavement of black people in U.S.A.

George Washington Carey

Arrested, held on the "FID" in Nashville U.S.A. for delivering a speech at the Nat Turner Liberation School, at which he informed black people that they should "use force by any means necessary"..... "that happen to freedom of speech/.....

We charge the white power structure the DUTEL, IL WEL and CANCELLED MASSIVE ARREST of NON-WHITE people's throughout the world. And we demand that they be held accountable for their crimes against the government and black people

HOW MUCH MORE

74 Afro-Americans Arrested On
SEPT. 14th
following a PROTEST RALLY at
43rd and LANGLEY

AT

HOW MUCH MORE

74 AFRO-AMERICANS WERE ARRESTED SEPTEMBER 14, 1967, Following a protest rally at 43 & Langley, about 4 o'clock PM.

They were protesting the long standing grievances of oppression of Black People. You black brothers and sisters must understand that we cannot sit by and let these brothers and sisters be railroaded by 1-Emcees

excessive bail 2-illegal charges. While the white power structure is demanding that we (COMMUNITY) pay more than \$1,000,000. for being black.

We can not sit by and let the white power simply place blames on SACC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and CORE (CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY) for rightful assembly to protest racial injustices of poor people within this country-U.S.A.

We are asking people to understand the urgency of the situation and to do the following: A-Send telegrams: Alderman Ralph Metcalf 3rd. Ward at 45 East 47th Street.

2-State Senate of Richard New House, 116 W. Washington

3-Senator Charles Percy- U.S. Senate Office Building

4-Presidential Candidate--Dick Gregory-1451 East 55 Street

B Send money to Community Bail bond fund at -306 East 43 St.

C--Further information contact SACC 306 East 43 St. 373-9025

Remember THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY IN ATLANTIC City New Jersey In
1964 MFDP

REMEMBER the Republican Party at CON PLACE in 1964

T. C. B.

REV. AT THE WALL

"THE WALL"
.....Located at 43rd Street & Langley Avenue..

DEPICTS, artistically, the BLACK GIANTS who have contributed so valiantly, in the past and in the present, to the historical Travail and Triumphs of the Black Man's search for Identity, Recognition and the Acquisition of Power....."The Wall" symbolizes the heart-aches of yesterday -- the stark realities of today ---- the anticipations of tomorrow.....

"The Wall" evolved out of the artistic consciousness of concerned Black Artists who have expressed and brought into being a thing of Beauty for the people - in the midst of squalor, deprivation and human indignation... It is an AWAKENING! It is a THING!

FACT SHEET

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12th --- An 18 yr. old girl who resided within the community of Grand Boulevard was beaten by a policeman. This brutal assault resulted in hospitalization for this young lady.

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th --- A HEARING took place, whereby a \$1,000.00 was posted and set for the young lady, with charges of: Interference With Law Enforcement Procedures & Resisting Arrest.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14th ---- A group of students of Forrestville High School, along with other concerned persons, assembled at "THE WALL" to protest the beating of the 18 year old youth and to protest the presence of police on the school grounds - as well as many other grievances and inequities that exist at the Forrestville School complex..... Police Officers arrived and ordered the group to disperse..... The group dispersed and regrouped near Forrestville School.... Again, the police ordered the group to disperse..... Failing to do so, the officers began firing into the air, at first,--- and then, into the crowd. COMPLETE CHAOS was the result of this action! Students, teachers and persons who resided in the area were soon caught up in the melee as RIOT SQUADS arrived and began to exert "extraordinary" force to quell the UPRISING or REVOLT! The entire area was cordoned off and massive arrests began.

FACT SHEET, CONT'D

All throughout the long night of Thursday, Sept. 14th and into the morning hours of Friday, September 15th, persons who were arrested were brought before the MORNING MAGISTRATE at the 11th STREET POLICE STATION (1st District). Here, BAIL BONDS were affixed -- without benefit of Counsel or any form of legal advice, except the brief precaution of the Magistrate that they (the Accused) had the right to remain silent or to request the right to Counsel.....

BAIL BONDS WERE SET IN AMOUNTS RANGING FROM \$10,000 to \$50,000.00.

All Juveniles were taken to AUDY HOME (ages 11 - 16 yrs.). All adults (17 yrs. and older) were taken to 26th & CALIFORNIA.

An AD - HOC COMMITTEE, composed of leaders and members of many civic, social and religious groups, was hastily formed. A method of approaching the grim task was discussed and plans for immediate action were put into effect. A committee was assigned the task of securing as many lawyers as possible to represent the arrested persons (TOTAL NUMBER OF THOSE ARRESTED NOW ESTIMATED TO BE 74). This battery of attorneys would begin legal proceedings, do vast amount of research on similar cases and attempt to lift the case(s) to the highest level of social consciousness and constitutionality.

A DIRECT ACTION COMMITTEE was assigned the task of bringing about complete community awareness around the issue.

A FUND-RAISING COMMITTEE was assigned the task of setting up rapid but effective programs to obtain funds that will be used for the released of persons arrested as rapidly as the bonds can be reduced to a certain level by the attorneys.

This AD - HOC COMMITTEE calls upon every member of the community to come to the aid of these persons who have been arrested. It will take the concerted effort of ALL facets of the community to bring about some justice for the ludicrous incident that began at ' THE WALL '. What happens to one of a community, happens to ALL of a community. Please contact _____ for information as to how YOU can become involved with this issue.



SELF DETERMINATION

The uprising in the black ghettos in Detroit is an indication that the blacks are ready to do more than complain and protest. They are ready to act in expression of their discontent with the system under which they are living (this is the phase of armed uprising).

The oppressed Afro-Americans are taking to the streets because they are tired of living with rats and roaches (the Big Lie in the American Dream). They are tired of tanks and guns. So-called Negroes in office are no big thing—the Black Leaders are usually more white than the whites. The true threat to the power structure is that the people are becoming more conscious of their role.

We are for the National Liberation...

AND WE WILL WIN

JOIN THE ARMY



KILL BLACK MEN IN DETROIT.....

KILL VIETCONG IN VIETNAM.....

KILL THE POOR AND OPPRESSED OF THE WORLD. KILL FOR
THE RICH MEN.

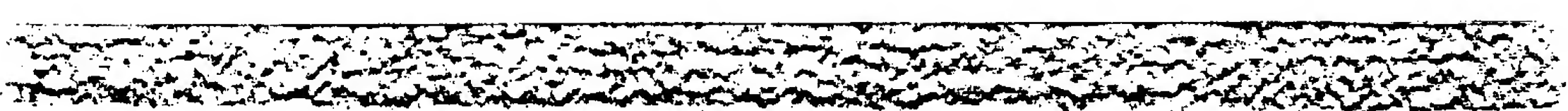
KILL 55



The dead pile up

This shows the continued senselessness of the Vietnam War. All of these sacrifices being made for nothing because the greedy politicians in Washington hate to lose out on the heavy profits that a war brings in. Don't let these madmen that think they know all the answers destroy your life by telling the "big lie" about preserving democracy.

TELL THEM I DON'T GO!





Uncle
Sam
wants
YOU
nigger

Become a member of
the world's highest paid
black mercenary army!

Support White Power
— travel to Viet Nam,
you might get a medal!

Fight for Freedom
... (in Viet Nam)

Receive valuable training
in the skills of killing off
other oppressed people!

(Die Nigger Die — you can't die
fast enough in the ghettos.)

So run to your nearest recruiting chamber!

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY

MORE BLACKS DEAD THAN WHITES!
~~7-11-68~~ ~~7-11-68~~ ~~7-11-68~~ ~~7-11-68~~

THIS IS TRAGIC
AND
NEVER SHOULD BE!

WHEN THE STORM TROOPERS
ARRIVE
WHAT WILL YOU DO?

ARM YOURSELVES NOW!
~~7-11-68~~ ~~7-11-68~~ ~~7-11-68~~ ~~7-11-68~~

REMEMBER

AMERICA IS THE BLACKMAN'S BATTLEGROUND
ARM AND -

UNITE OR PERISH!

YOUNG AFRO-AMERICANS FOR DEFENSE OF BLACKS

SACC

HELP GET

RAP BROWN

Out of Jail

Rally Sunday, Aug 27 Time 2:00 PM
4/5 '59 Langley 2

43rd ST & HADLEY

Rally

Sunday - Aug 27th
2:00 P.M.

— SPEAKERS —

Lincoln Lynch — CORE

FANNIE LOW HAMMER —

MISS. FREEDOM PARTY

YAREE AMEER — SNCC

•
OTHERS

Black Mobilization — Come & HEAR

Black Power 60 SNCC — 373-9005

S.N.C.C. 306 E. 43RD ST

GEORGE WARE NATION-
AL CAMPUS DIRECTOR OF
S.N.C.C. HAS BEEN ARRESTED
AND CHARGED WITH TREASON
IN NASHVILLE TENN. ON THE
STATEMENT TELLING BLACK
PEOPLE TO ^{GET} FREEDOM BY ANY
MEANS NECESSARY. WE MUST
NOT SIT BY AND LET OUR
LEADERS BE JAILED FOR
NOTHING!! SO WHAT ARE WE
GOING TO DO?
S.N.C.C. 373-9025 PEOPLE!!

"We are making this appeal in the city of Detroit, the state of Michigan, where General Motors has its main plants. While we are aware there are other United States companies operating in South Africa, we believe by calling for a selective boycott of 1968 General Motors cars we may in some small manner assist the struggle for the armed liberation of South Africa. We hope by this action to pressure the United States capitalists to withdraw their investments before we see the sorry sight of the United States government sending troops, some of whom will be Negroes, to support the white racist regime in South Africa and to protect the white American citizens and their dollars."

5. Remember that the struggle against racism, colonialism and apartheid is an indivisible struggle. Armed revolutionary action is occurring throughout Southern Africa--Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa. This issue will soon be brought before the Security Council of the United Nations and even the General Assembly. Do not stand aloof from the debates. Dress in your national African dress, go to the United Nations, hear and participate in the discussions. Too long we as Africans in the United States have failed to show solidarity with our African brothers on the continent. We the Overseas Africans must realize that we can do something and our presence at the United Nations is an expression of solidarity which is important for the morale of the brothers fighting the guerrilla war in Southern Africa.

6. If you are in school, stay there and learn industrial skills that are needed in African countries and will be needed once the liberation of Southern Africa has been accomplished. If you are out of school, get back in and learn the sciences, learn engineering, learn medicine. Africa needs technical help and we must use this white man's schools to help our brothers in Africa, when they ask for us. We must be prepared. There is some meaning to our lives when we realize that we can today go back to Africa.

7. Support SNICK. Send contributions to 100 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y., Room 803. SNCC has voted to help the liberation struggle and it is going to help directly the liberation struggles occurring in all parts of Southern Africa. But SNCC has been under intense pressure and the whites in this country are trying to destroy it. They are going to even try harder now that we are actively supporting the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

SNICK MUST NOT FALL. Send some money today! Also, we must support CORE.

8. Prepare yourself psychologically for the day when we may all have to go fight in South Africa, for the apartheid system is so vicious--and is backed by all the Western Powers, especially the United States--that those of us who have been trained to fight in Vietnam, for example, and do not want to fight and live in this country may very soon have to form a BLACK INTERNATIONAL AND RETURN TO AFRICA TO FIGHT OR DIE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY. AFRICA IS OUR HOME.

August 28, 1967.

A MESSAGE FROM CHAIRMAN H. RAP BROWN.

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Black communities throughout the United States:

Our brothers and sisters in South Africa have launched an armed revolutionary struggle against the fascist, illegal white governments of Rhodesia and South Africa. In Rhodesia some 250,000 whites are suppressing the rights of 4 million blacks. In South Africa for over fifty years some 2 million whites have brutally suppressed the right of self-determination of the African majority. But the revolutionary armed struggle has begun and we shall win.

The hour has come when we must support our blood brothers. We cannot sit back and wait until the United States has sent troops to Rhodesia and South Africa. Already in South Africa it is the heavy investment of the United States' capitalists that makes this regime stay in power.

YOU MUST HELP!

YOU MUST HELP NOW!

WE CANNOT WAIT!

WHAT YOU MUST DO -

1. Educate yourself about the involvement of the United States and other Western Powers in helping to maintain racism, colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. Organise yourselves as a Committee of One to educate your neighbours about the nature of the struggle and what they must do now to help the armed struggle in South Africa. Brothers, we cannot wait, for the struggle will be long and bitter and we must begin to help now.
2. Collect and send money immediately to: Oliver Tambo, President, African National Congress, P.O. Box 2239, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. You must send money quickly.
3. Collect and send medical supplies to President Tambo at the same address. Do it now!
4. On August 27th, 1967, we sent a letter to Oliver Tambo pledging our moral support and other help as the liberation movements ask for it.

In our letter we stated that: "In the United States we are this day, Sunday, 27th August, 1967, calling on black people not to buy new General Motors cars for the year 1968. We are fully aware that General Motors is a heavy investor in South Africa and the profits from exploited labour of our brothers in South Africa makes this company even richer.

STUDENT MOVEMENT C. RD.
100 Fifth Avenue, Room 8
New York, N.Y. 10011

ATTITLE
.9-1313

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

August 27, 1967

The following open telegram has been sent to His Excellency Houphouet Boigny, President of the Republic of Ivory Coast, on the occasion of his current visit to the United States:

His Excellency Houphouet Boigny
President
Republic of Ivory Coast

46 East 74th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. President:

We appeal to you in the name of humanity and the solidarity of progressive black people to release Mr. Lansana Beavogui and Mr. Achkar Marof, two officials of the Guinean government detained by you while they were enroute from the United Nations.

Our brothers in South Africa have just recently launched an armed struggle for their liberation. South African white authorities are brutally repressing black people and are determined to quash the legitimate right of Africans to liberate themselves from the vicious system of apartheid -- by whatever means necessary.

Mr. Achkar Marof, as Chairman of the United Nations Committee on Apartheid, has played a valuable role in documenting and exposing the atrocities of apartheid. His detention by your government severely handicapped the Seminar on Racism, Apartheid and Colonialism in Southern Africa which was recently held in Kitwe, Zambia. His further detention in light of the armed revolutionary struggle now occurring in South Africa and Rhodesia is indeed a setback to the African Liberation movement and a bonus for the forces of colonialism and apartheid to which your government has declared itself in opposition.

Mr. President, we know that you are aware that we Afro-Americans who live now in the United States are descendants of those who were wrenched from the shores of Africa and brought against their will to the United States. We have been resisting this forced slavery ever since we were captured on the shores of Africa. The recent rebellions in Newark and Detroit are just the latest in a long line of slave revolts and resistance to the rupture from our culture and our degrading condition in the United States. We want you to know, Sir, that many of us -- we the Overseas Africans -- are becoming more and more conscious of our responsibilities to our African brothers as they are becoming more aware of their responsibilities to us. Therefore, Sir, we cannot sit idly by while people who represent the United Nations are held in detention while travelling enroute to their home country.

Also, Mr. President, we must tell you that the Guinean delegation and especially Mr. Marof have always championed the cause of the African Americans. Therefore his imprisonment is a detriment to our struggle as well as to the African liberation movement.

Since we believe, Mr. President, that you too realize that the struggle against Racism, Colonialism and Apartheid is an indivisible struggle and what affects you in Africa affects us Africans in the United States, we are confident that you will release the Guinean delegation and hear our appeal to allow these men to return to the just fight against Racism and Colonialism and Apartheid.

ONE AFRICA, ONE PEOPLE

Signed: James Baldwin
Harry Belafonte
Julian Bond
H. Rapp Brown
Stokely Carmichael

Ralph Featherstone
James Farmer
Floyd McKissick
Howard Moore, Jr.

For further information, contact: International Affairs Commission, SNCC, 100 Fifth Ave., Room 803, New York, N.Y. (212) YU.9-1313.

INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON APARTHEID
RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIALISM IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA

LUSAKS, REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA
24 JULY -- AUGUST 1967

Organized by the United Nations with the cooperation
of the Government of the Republic of Zambia

THE INDIVISIBLE STRUGGLE AGAINST RACISM,
APARTHEID AND COLONIALISM

Position Paper of (SNICK)

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

Afro-Americans have watched with sympathy and concern the struggle against apartheid and white-settler domination in eastern and southern Africa over the past twenty years. We rejoiced with all freedom-loving people when the victory was won in Kenya. Today, we express our solidarity with the Freedom Fighters who languish in the prisons and detention camps of southern Africa awaiting the day when the heroic efforts of those who are still free to fight will wipe out these inhumanities of man to man once and for all, and place the destiny and welfare of the people in their own hands. It is only natural that we in SNCC should be deeply concerned over the course and outcome of this struggle, for our own members have been engaged for seven years in struggles against a particularly vicious form of apartheid that has existed for centuries in the United States. We can understand South Africa because we have seen the inside of the jails of Mississippi and Alabama and have been herded behind barbed wire enclosures, attacked by police dogs, and set upon with electric prods — the American equivalent of the sjambok. There is no difference between the sting of being called a "kaffir" in South Africa and a "nigger" in the U.S.A. The cells of Robin Island and Birmingham jail look the same on the inside. As the vanguard of the struggle against racism in America, SNCC is not unfamiliar with the problems of southern Africa.

SNCC has never visualized the struggle for human rights in America in isolation from the worldwide struggle for human rights. It was inevitable that a time would come when it would formally declare itself, as it did this year, a "Human Rights Organization interested not only in Human Rights in the United States but throughout the world", and would apply to the United Nations Economic and Security Council for status as an affiliated non-governmental organization. SNCC has made it clear by recorded vote at its May, 1967 conference that: "It encourages and supports the liberation struggles against colonialism, racism and economic exploitation" wherever these conditions exist, and that those nations that assume a position of positive non-alignment express a point of view most consistent with

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its own views. Therefore, although our name indicates the original form of our struggle, we do not foreclose other forms of struggle.

In order to implement more effectively its program and to strengthen its link with other groups struggling against oppression, SNCC has appointed a Director of International Affairs, James Forman, and designated the New York office of SNCC as its headquarters for international affairs. The organization's participation in this conference is evidence of its desire to render intensified support to the fight against racism, apartheid, and white-settler domination on the continent of Africa.

As an organization "technically" composed of American citizens, SNCC's first obligation to the worldwide struggle for human rights is to take a firm stand against violations of these rights by the American government.

It is our firm conviction that American intervention in Vietnam militates against any possible constructive action by the U.S.A. in other areas of Latin America, Asia, and Africa. It distorts any clear analysis of the problem, since policy makers tend to interpret all such struggles in terms of Cold War rivalries. (The shameful intervention in the Congo between 1960 and 1965 was justified on the grounds that it was "necessary" to curb Soviet and Chinese influence in Africa.) Policy-makers of the U.S. government divert resources and energy that should be applied to financial and technical assistance — without strings — to developing areas, including the ghettos of the United States. It destroys the confidence of Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans in the good intentions of any American nationals, laying the pall of suspicion that there may be CIA among them. SNCC took a formal position on the Vietnam War in January, 1966, and our statement declared, in part, that:

- The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee assumes its right to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue, and states its opposition to United States involvement in the war in Vietnam on these grounds:

We believe the United States government has been deceptive in claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the

freedom of the colored people in such other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia and in the United States itself.

We of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black people's struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, taught us that United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by U.S. government officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes. The murder of Samuel Younge in Tuskegee, Alabama is no different from the murder of people in Vietnam, for both Younge and the Vietnamese sought and are seeking to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the U.S. government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths. (See Appendix A for the full text)

The problem of Vietnam is organically related to the position of the United States with regard to southern Africa. The United States is formally committed to a half-hearted participation in economic sanctions against Rhodesia, but it has vigorously resisted all attempts to commit itself to such a policy with regard to the Republic of South Africa. Although it repeatedly deplures the existence of apartheid there, the United States views the Republic of South Africa as an integral part of a worldwide military system — a site for tracking stations and a haven for sailors going to and from the Far East.

World opinion has moved to the point where it is prepared to support the imposition of sanctions on South Africa in the hope of averting a violent conflict in the future. The U.S. opposes such sanctions — and not only because of its involvement in an East-West conflict. The volume of its investments and its desire not to "rock the boat" are matters that have been well documented by the United Nations and other non-governmental organizations. This working paper need not include the details.

Since its inception in 1960, SNCC has always been interested in the African

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phase of the struggle against racism. In 1965, on the anniversary of the Sharpsville massacre, SNCC became active in attempts to mobilize pressure against the system of apartheid in South Africa by conducting a week of demonstrations in the offices of the South African consulate and the South African mission to the U.N., both in New York. It has also participated with other organizations in the attempt to get Americans to withdraw their accounts from banks doing a large volume of business in the Republic of South Africa.

Increasing numbers of Afro-Americans — and their allies — are beginning to recognize the indivisible nature of racism. The Chase-Manhattan Bank, for instance, has large-scale investments in South Africa and profits greatly from apartheid. SNCC has recently been lending its support to black employees of Chase-Manhattan who are victims of racist personnel practices. A total of 12 Negro employees have filed charges against the bank with the New York City Commission on Human Rights, charging the "baas" mentality among supervisors, denial of promotions and job training opportunities, and intimidation, harassment and constant surveillance after they had dared to challenge these practices. Finally, nine employees were dismissed for seeking redress of grievances. This struggle continues. (See Appendix B)

The parallels between the African liberation movement and the struggle of Afro-Americans are striking. As both movements have matured and the lessons of previous struggles have been drawn, they have increasingly emphasized the extent to which their fate has been linked — without their consent — to Great Power struggles. They have also seen the need for increasing their effectiveness by stressing the right to make their own decisions, uninfluenced by pressures from other racial and ethnic communities even though they may sustain close working relations with them as allies. In the United States this has taken the form of the "Black Power" movement with SNCC in the lead. Within the United States, conservative organizations — some of them represented at this conference — as well

the organization. Numerous incidents might be cited, but a very recent one will illustrate the point. This month, five SNCC-affiliated students from Texas Southern University will go on trial in Houston, Texas. Their trial is the outgrowth of events on May 16, 1967, when 500 Texas police armed with rifles, machine guns, shotguns and dogs, fired upon and then invaded two dormitories at the University. In the wild shooting, one policeman shot another and a patrolman was killed. Despite the fact that the patrolman was shot on the side of a building where there were no doors or windows, and despite the fact that at least two of the five accused students can prove their absence from the scene, these five have been charged with murder. The brutal conduct of the police inside the dormitories, where they destroyed property indiscriminately, kicked a dormitory house mother, and arrested 467 students (some of whom they also beat) -- with these crimes, the state of Texas is unconcerned. This is the same state which the President and the Attorney General of the United States call home.

This is only one of many recent incidents of massive police brutality. Such occurrences led the New York office of SNCC to issue an appeal to the African and Asian missions to the United Nations on June 13th, 1967. (See Appendix C)

This, then, is a brief summary of some aspects of SNCC's recent activity and experience which have relevance for those gathered here. What conclusions and recommendations may be drawn for the consideration of this conference?

We see the worldwide fight against racism as indivisible. Southern Africa as a stronghold of the Herrenvolk mentality has high priority in the struggle. To win the battle there is to hasten the victory in the U.S.A.. SNCC is dedicated to a joint struggle of all who fight for Human Rights in Africa and in the U.S.A., each backing up the other, each rendering what support it can to the other. Therefore, SNCC has come to this conference not only to express its condemnation of apartheid and colonialism, already affirmed in previous statements, and to offer

its moral support to all African engaged in liberation struggles. We also come to assert that we consider ourselves and other black people in the United States a colonized people; a colony within the United States in many ways similar to colonies outside the boundaries of the United States and other European nations.

The fight against racism is a responsibility of all who believe in Human Rights, but it is the victims who bear primary responsibility for waging the struggle. We have accepted our responsibility for the attack on the American front. We salute those who are waging the battle in southern Africa. We seek their assistance in our struggle and pledge ourselves to theirs. But we also affirm that strategy and tactics must be decided by those who bear responsibility for waging the struggle, on both fronts. Among African leaders, a remarkable degree of consensus has developed during the past five years on the acceptance of the strategy of a multi-pronged attack upon apartheid, racism, white-settler domination, and the remnants of colonialism in southern Africa. As part of that strategy, they have enlisted the support of the United Nations in arraigning South Africa before the bar of world opinion; in condemning oppressive policies in Portuguese territories; in voting to assume administration over Southwest Africa; and in declaring economic sanctions against Rhodesia. These leaders have also tried to bring the U.N. to the point of voting sanctions against South Africa.

We support that effort to obtain action in the United Nations and, as our recent appeal to the Afro-Asian nations indicates, we shall attempt to do the same for our own struggle. The United Nations is not only a world forum where grievances are legitimately aired. Its constituent nations have signed agreements in regard to Human Rights. Although these agreements are often violated, it is the duty of the citizens of the constituent nations to pressure their own nation and others to abide by these agreements. SNCC has never accepted the position that racism in the U.S.A. is a domestic issue that should not be aired in the United Nations. We call attention to the case of Julian Bond, a SNCC

staff member who was duly elected to the Georgia State Legislature and then denied his seat because he refused to repudiate the SMOG statement condemning the U.S. war in Vietnam. For almost a year, Brother Bond was denied his seat and the people of his electoral district thus denied representation. The legislature's action was clearly motivated by the fact that he was a black militant, an affront to the white supremacist legislature. During this period, Brother Bond was invited to lunch by a number of African delegations to the United Nations. Extensive pressure was brought to bear on those delegations not to attend the luncheon, on the grounds that his case was a matter of domestic concern — an internal affair of the United States. Most of the delegation resisted this pressure, recognizing that racism in the United States is a matter of international concern. This is our position also.

It is thus our privilege to continue in the footsteps of the late Malcolm X, who worked hard to secure the support of African and Asian nations for raising the question of American racism in the U.N. We believe in such efforts, as we believe that the efforts by African leaders to obtain United Nations action have been useful in the shaping of public opinion and in preparing a background of sympathy and support for their local efforts. But we also recognize that many African leaders know the United Nations alone cannot bring them their liberation, as important as its activities are. They have no illusions, nor do we.

The Organization of African Unity (O.A.U.) has set up a Liberation Committee to give aid to Freedom Fighters throughout the continent, and has made clear that in the final analysis, African member-states will be prepared to render other forms of assistance if needed. The struggle proceeds in varied forms — guerrilla tactics here, controlled sabotage there; non-violent positive action in other contexts.

High priority should be given at a conference such as this to discussion of how nations and non-governmental organizations will relate to new forms of struggle against apartheid, racism and colonialism which may be adopted in the

future. There are those who will hope that effective economic sanctions are possible. There are also those -- among them, we of SNCC -- who are pessimistic about the possibility of ever enlisting the aid of the two crucial nation states, the United States of America and the United Kingdom, in supporting sanctions. American businessmen and politicians oppose sanctions; British Labor Party leaders insist that the economic cost to them will be too great; and the war in Vietnam is a barometer of how far these countries will go to protect their vested interest in racism and exploitation, especially the United States.

If no effective action is taken by the United Nations, and as African liberation movements intensify their armed struggle, what will be the response of the nations in the U.N. and of its associated organizations? Will certain powers decide to intervene to protect "missionaries" and "white civilization" or raise the cry of "Communism" to strangle liberation efforts, as happens within the United States whenever blacks vigorously oppose the status quo? Will organizations concerned with human rights provide humanitarian assistance to the casualties of this struggle, as they do in the cases of international warfare, or will they define Africans as "savages" (rather than "Freedom Fighters") and deny such assistance? Will those who sing praise of the heroes of the French, Russian and American Revolutions define the black heroes as "Satanic creatures of darkness?" Is it possible, even now, before the climax of the struggle comes, to define positions, if and when such situations arise? We believe that to do less is not only unrealistic but also a betrayal of the values which all opponents of apartheid say they support. This working paper suggests that such questions as these are of great urgency in the present phase of the struggle against apartheid.

SNCC, as a non-governmental organization dedicated to Human Rights but with its own distinctive approach to the problem of fighting racism, will have its own unique response to make, as will each non-governmental organization at this conference. On one level, this is simply a matter of trying to help create ever-widening circles of awareness of the dimensions of the problem and interpreting

the aims, aspirations, & techniques — including armed struggle — of those who fight for freedom.

The problem of rallying forces inside the United States to a level of understanding and awareness of the nature and dimensions of the struggle for liberation in southern Africa where they can make effective contributions is hampered by a conservative press as it is in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, Bissau, and South Africa. We must build viable organizations and alternative forms of communication to offset the negative influence of a hostile press if United States armed intervention to suppress African liberation struggles is to be prevented. Numerous agencies are devoting time and energy to this task. We shall play our part with increasing vigor in the years ahead.

On another level, we visualize the application of those techniques of organization and struggle that have won us our limited victories at home to the task of trying to prevent U.S. intervention against liberation struggles in Africa. There is the task, too, of mobilizing support for the African liberation struggle, as African leaders ask for it. In turn, we hope that our African brothers may assist us in our struggle in appropriate and feasible ways. On the educational level, we would refer again to the question of the press. As the domestic American press is dominated by white conservatives, the U.S. Information Service operating overseas seeks to cultivate an image of the American government on the side of African-Americans — an image of constant progress being made. Needless to say, this is not the truth. But we must still work to counteract the constant flow of propaganda to that effect and the constant omission of news which might challenge the image. We welcome your assistance in this effort.

In concluding this paper, we would like to summarize and list our basic points and concrete suggestions:

1.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2141 (XXI) of 26 October/1966 on "Question of the violation of Human Rights and fundamental freedoms, including policies of racial discrimination and segregation and of apartheid, in all countries, with particular reference to colonial and other dependent countries and territories".

We recommend and vigorously urge that this matter be placed upon the provisional agenda of the next session of the General Assembly, and we especially recommend and strenuously urge that a special seminar be convened and held to study and investigate the nexus between racial, political, economic and cultural discrimination in the United States, and racial discrimination and apartheid in Southern Africa.

We further recommend and urge that the policies of racial discrimination in the United States be condemned as posing a grave threat to international peace and security and a violation of the human rights charter; and that a resolution of the General Assembly be duly recorded as condemning the trend in the United States toward racial pogroms and condemning racial discrimination in the United States as a crime against humanity.

2.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2142 (XXI) of 26 October 1966 on "Elimination of all forms of racial discrimination".

3.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2189 (XXI) of 13 December 1966 on "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples".

4.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2202 (XXI) of 16 December 1966 on "The policies of apartheid of the government of the Republic of South Africa."

5.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2151 (XXI) of 17 November 1966 on the question of Southern Rhodesia.

6.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI) of 27 October 1966 on the question of South West Africa.

7.

We recommend the full and immediate implementation of General Assembly resolution 2184 (XXI) of 12 December 1966 on the question of territories under Portuguese administration.

8.

We especially encourage and recommend that all member states and non-governmental organizations use every means of persuasion at their command to influence the government of the United Kingdom to take all necessary measures, including in particular the use of force, in the exercise of its powers as the administering power to put an end to the illegal, racist minority of Southern Rhodesia."

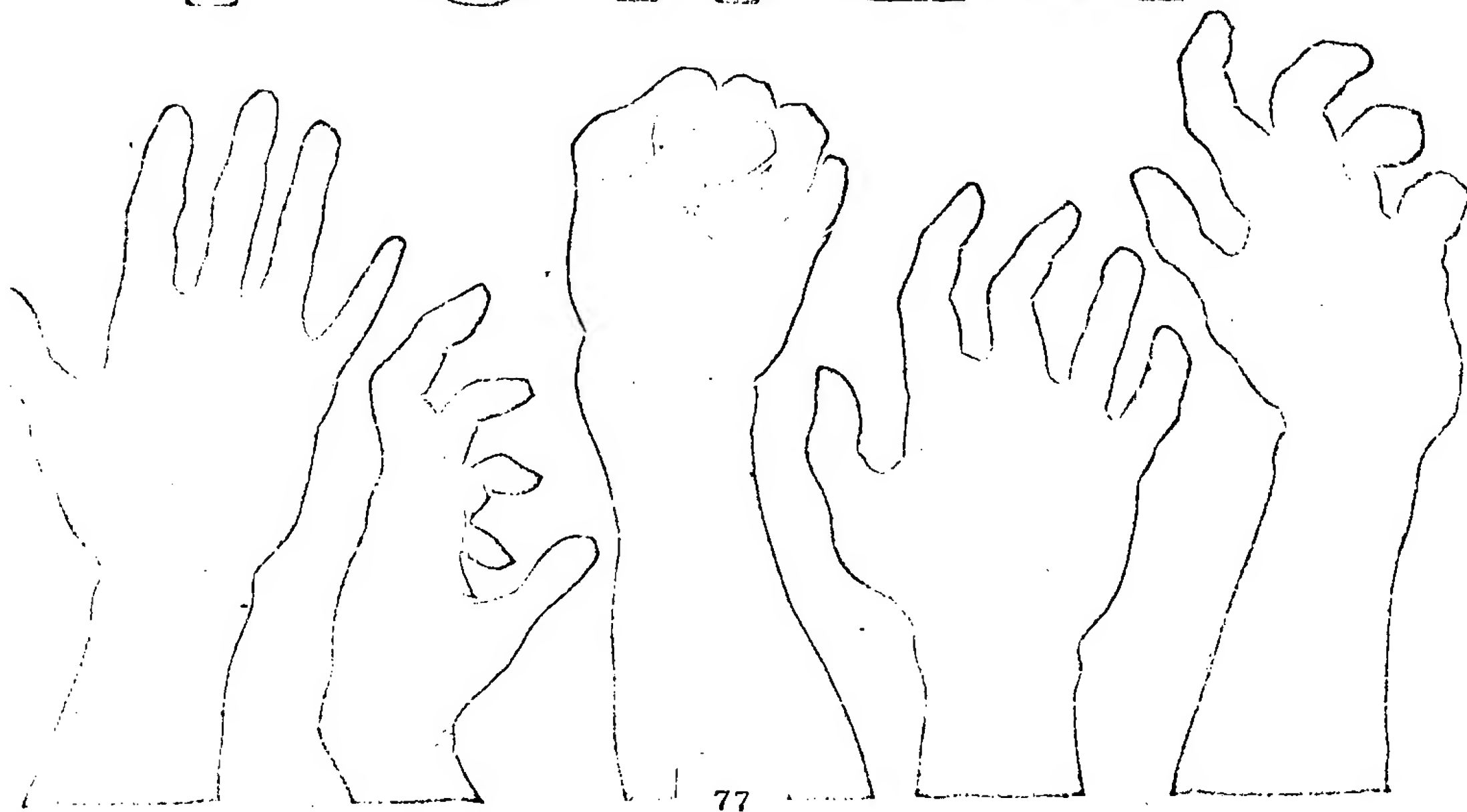
9.

We recommend that the ties between non-governmental organizations and the people of Southern Africa be strengthened, that effective and continuing means of communications be established between NGO and the people of Southern Africa. We further encourage non-governmental organizations to take more vigorous and decisive roles in the liberation struggles and in United Nations activities to end racism, apartheid and colonialism.

10.

We intend to add further recommendations to our position during the course of the conference on racism, colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa.

WE WANT
BLACK
POWER



The black man in America is in a perpetual state of slavery no matter what the white mans propaganda tells us. The black man in America is exploited and oppressed the same as his black brothers are all over the face of the earth by the same white man. We will never be free until we are all free and that means all black oppressed people all over the earth. We are not alone in this fight, we are a part of the struggle for self-determination of all black men everywhere. We here in America must unite ourselves to be ready to help our brothers elsewhere. We must first gain BLACK POWER here in America. Living inside the camp of the leaders of the enemy forces, it is our duty to our Brothers to revolt against the system and create our own system so that we can live as MEN. We must take over the political and economic systems where we are in the majority in the heart of every major city in this country as well as many of the rural areas. We must create our own black culture to erase the lies the white man has fed our minds from the day we were born.

THE BLACK MAN IN THE GHETTO WILL LEAD THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

The black Brother in the ghetto will lead the Black Power Movement and make the changes that are necessary for its success. The black man in the ghetto has one big advantage that the bourgeois Negro does not have despite his 'superior' education. He is already living outside of the value system white society imposes on all black Americans. He has to look at things from another direction in order to survive. He is ready. He received his training in the streets, in the jails, from the ADC check his mother did not receive on time and the head-beatings he got from the cop on the corner. Once he makes that first important discovery about the great pride you feel inside as a BLACK MAN and the great heritage of the mother country, Africa, there is no stopping him from dedicating himself to fight the white mans system. This is why the Black Power Movement is a true revolutionary movement with the power to change mens minds and unmask the tricks the white man has used to keep black men enslaved in modern society.

THE BOURGEOIS NEGRO CANNOT BE A PART OF THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT

The bourgeois Negro has been force-fed the white mans propaganda and has lived too long in the half-world between white and phony black bourgeois society. He cannot think for himself because he is a shell of a man full of contradictions he cannot resolve. He is not to be trusted under any circumstances until he has proved himself to be 'cured.' There are a minute handfull of these 'cured' bourgeois Negroes in the Black Power Movement and they are most valuable but they must not be allowed to take control. They are aware intellectually but under stress will react emotionally to the pressures of white society in the same way a white 'liberal' will expose an unconscious prejudice that he did not even realize he possessed.

Malcolm X was the first black man from the ghetto in America to make a real attempt to get the white mans fist off the black mans balls. He recognized the true dignity of man - without the white society prejudices about status, education and background that we all must purge from our minds. Even today, in the Black Power Movement itself we find Brothers who look down on another Brother because of the conditions that life has imposed upon him. The most beautiful thing that Malcolm X taught us is that once a black man discovers for himself a pride in his blackness, he can throw off the shackles of mental slavery and become a MAN in the truest sense of the word. We must move on from the point our Great Black Prince had reached.

WE MUST BECOME LEADERS FOR OURSELVES

We must not get hung-up in the bag of having one great leader who we depend upon to make decisions. This makes the Movement too vulnerable to those forces the white man uses to keep us enslaved, such as the draft, murder, prison or character assassination. We have to all learn to become leaders for ourselves and remove all white values from our minds. When we see a Brother using a white value through error it is our duty to the Movement to point it out to him. We must thank our Brothers who show us our own errors. We must discipline ourselves so that if necessary, we can leave family and friends on a moments notice, maybe forever, and know our Brothers have pledged themselves to protect the family we have left behind. As a part of our education, we must travel to other cities and make contacts with the Brothers in all the ghettos of America so that when the time is right we can unite as one under the banner of BLACK POWER.

LEARNING TO THINK BLACK AND REMOVE WHITE THINGS FROM OUR MINDS.

We have got to begin to say and understand with complete assuredness what black is. Black is an inner pride that the white mans language hampers us from expressing. Black is being a complete fanatic, who white society considers insane. We have to learn that black is so much better than belonging to the white race with the blood of millions dripping from their hands that it goes far beyond any prejudice or resentment. We must fill ourselves with hate for all white things. This is not vengeance or trying to take the white oppressors place to become new black oppressors but is a oneness with a world-wide black brotherhood. We must regain respect for the lost religion of our fathers, the spirits of the black earth of Africa. The white man has so poisoned our minds that if a Brother told you he practiced Voodoo you would roll around on the floor laughing at how stupid and superstitious he was. We have to learn to roll around on the floor laughing at the black man who says he worships the white Jesus. He is truly sick. We must create our own language for these things

that the white man will not understand because a Black Culture exists and it is not wood-carvings or native dancing it is the black strength inside of true men.

IDEAS ON PLANNING FOR THE FUTURE OF BLACK POWER

We must infiltrate all government agencies. This will not be hard because black clerks work in all agencies in poor paying jobs and have a natural resentment of the white men who run these jobs. People must be assigned to seek out these dissatisfied black men and women and put pressure on them to give us the information we need. Any man in overalls, carrying a tool box, can enter a building if he looks like he knows what he is doing. Modern America depends on many complex systems such as electricity, water, gas, sewerage and transportation and all are vulnerable. Much of the government is run by computers that must operate in airconditioning. Cut off the airconditioning and they cannot function. We must begin to investigate and learn all of these things so that we can use them if it becomes necessary. We cannot train an army in the local park but we can be ready for the final confrontation with the white man's system. Remember your Brothers in South Africa and do not delude yourselves that it could not happen here. We must copy the white man's biggest trick, diversion, (Hitler taught them that) and infiltrate all civil rights groups, keep them in confusion so they will be neutralized and cannot be used as a tool of the white power structure. The civil rights, integrationist movement says to the white man, "If you please, Sir, let us, the 10% minority of America have our rights. See how nice and nonviolent we are?" This is why SNCC calls itself a Human Rights Organization. We believe that we belong to the 90% majority of the people on earth that the white man oppresses and that we should not beg the white man for anything. We want what belongs to us as human beings and we intend to get it through BLACK POWER.

HOW TO DEAL WITH BLACK TRAITORS

Uncle Tom is too kind of a word. What we have are black traitors, quisslings, collaborators, sell-outs, white Negroes. We have to expose these people for once and for all for what they are and place them on the side of the oppressor where they belong. Their black skin is a lie and their guilt the shame of all black men. We must ostracize them and if necessary exterminate them. We must stop fighting a 'fair-game.' We must do whatever is necessary to win BLACK POWER. We have to hate and disrupt and destroy and blackmail and lie and steal and become blood-brothers like the Mau-Mau. We must eliminate or render ineffective all traitors. We must make them fear to stand up like puppets for the white men, and we must make the world understand that these so-called men do not represent us or even belong to the same black race because they sold out their birthright for a mess of white society pottage. Let them choke on it.

PITFALLS TO AVOID ON THE PATH TO BLACK POWER

We must learn how close America and Russia are politically. The biggest lie in the world is the cold war. Money runs this world and it is controlled completely by the white man. Russia and America run the two biggest money systems in the world and they intend to keep it under their control under any circumstances. Thus, we cannot expect any help from Communism or any other 'ism.' We must seek out poor peoples movements in South America, Africa and Asia and make our alliances with them. We must not be fooled into thinking that there is a ready-made doctrine that will solve all our problems. There are only white mans doctrines and they will never work for us. We have to work out our own systems and doctrines and culture.

WHY PROPAGANDA IS OUR MOST IMPORTANT TOOL

The one thing that the white mans system cannot stand is the TRUTH because his system is all based upon lies. There is no such thing as 'justice' for a black man in America. The white man controls everything that is said in every book, newspaper, magazine, TV and radio broadcast. Even the textbooks used in the schools and the bible that is read in the churches are designed to maintain the system for the white man. Each and every one of us is forced to listen to the white mans propaganda every day of our lives. The political system, economic system, military system, educational system, religious system and anything else you name is used to preserve the status quo of white America getting fatter and fatter while the black man gets more and more hungry. We must spend our time telling our Brothers the truth. We must tell them that any black woman who wears a diamond in her finger is wearing the blood of her Brothers and Sisters in slavery in South Africa where one out of every three black babies die before the age of one, from starvation, to make the white man rich. We must stop wearing the symbols of slavery on our fingers. We must stop going to other countries to exterminate our Brothers and Sisters for the white mans greed. We must ask our Brothers which side are they on? Once you know the truth for yourself it is your duty to dedicate your life to recruiting your Brothers and to counteract the white mans propaganda. We must disrupt the white mans system to create our own. We must publish newspapers and get radio stations. Black Unity is strength - lets use it now to get BLACK POWER.

SNCC 4165 S. Ellis Ave. Chicago, Ill. 60653 924-6781

VII. CHARACTERIZATIONS

Characterizations of the following individuals, publications, and organizations were obtained from [REDACTED] except where otherwise noted.

ACT

ACT is a militantly orientated civil rights group, principally active on Chicago's west side with an office located at 413 East Oakwood Boulevard, Chicago, on the near south side. Individuals who are affiliated with ACT have associated with "Black Power" groups in Chicago.

ACT leader, LAURENCE LANDRY, a male, Negro, has been arrested a number of times in connection with local civil rights demonstrations.

FREDERICK DOUGLAS ANDREWS, West Side Chairman of ACT, is a male, Negro, Black Power advocate.

Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

The Chicago Chapter of CORE is a loosely organized group suffering from internal dissension and dwindling membership. Many members support the "Black Power" philosophy.

The leader of CORE is ROBERT LUCAS.

Coordinating Council For Black Power (CCBP)

The CCBP is a loose amalgamation of militantly orientated civil rights groups organized around the concept of "Black Power". The CCBP has no office or formal organization. Those individuals who participate in its meetings are affiliated with other local civil rights type groups.

Afro-American Students Association (AASA)

The AASA is a militantly orientated association of high school and college age individuals organized around the concept of "Black Power".

The leader of AASA is JAMES HARVEY, a male, Negro, age 21, a student at Wilson Junior College, Chicago. He reportedly teaches violence and civil disobedience as a means of advancing the Negro cause.

Latin-American Defense Organization (LADO)

LADO has its headquarters at 1306 North Western Avenue, Chicago, and was formed in the summer of 1966 to help Chicago residents of Latin American descent. It is considered the most active and militant community group within the Puerto Rican community.

The chairman is OBED LOPEZ, a male, Mexican, who entered the United States in February, 1957, and is still in the United States in an alien status. He was arrested by the Chicago Police Department in August of 1966, in response to a call "making fire bombs". LOPEZ was found on the scene with a gallon glass container of gasoline. He was charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest which were subsequently dismissed. LOPEZ is former chairman of the now defunct Chicago Branch of Fair Play for Cuba Committee (FPCC).

Kenwood Oakwood Community Conference (KOCO)

The KOCO is a local community civil rights organization whose primary purpose is to integrate the area in a peaceful manner. It does not advocate a militant, violent approach to the solution of Negroes' problems.

"Militant"

"The Militant" is a weekly newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

"Muhammad Speaks"

The "Muhammad Speaks" is a weekly newspaper published by Muhammad's Mosque Number 2, 634 East 79th Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Oakland Committee for Community Improvement (OCCI)

The OCCI office is located at 3939 South Drexel, Chicago. It is a militant civil rights organization whose purpose is to protest local issues such as alleged police brutality, lack of educational facilities and recreational facilities on Chicago's south side.

The leader is FRANK DITTO, a male, Negro, former taxi driver, who has been arrested a number of times in connection with local civil rights demonstrations.

Protectorgrights, Protect Our Rights or
Protector Rights (POR)

The "POR" is a militant, loosely organized civil rights organization with office located at 4500 South Greenwood, Chicago, that advocates "Black Power" as a solution to Negroes' problems.

A leader of "POR" was CARL TUNSTALL, a male, Negro, who was an unsuccessful candidate for alderman in Chicago's 4th Ward in January, 1967.

EDWARD "FATS" CRAWFORD

CRAWFORD is the self-proclaimed leader of the DDJ in Chicago. He is a male, Negro, age 45, self-employed carpenter, who is known to be in possession of firearms and is considered possibly dangerous.

EUGENE TOURNOUR

As of November, 1966, EUGENE TOURNOUR was a current member of the CP of Illinois.

[REDACTED] 11/16/66)

MICHAEL WRIGHT

MICHAEL WRIGHT, a male, Negro, who recently came to Chicago from the south, was co-chairman of a SNCC meeting held December 16, 1966, at 4165 South Ellis, Chicago.

[REDACTED] 12/19/66)

On May 5, 1967, SA [REDACTED] United States Customs, Chicago, Illinois, supra, made available the following information from the Chicago Branch of SNCC office files concerning MICHAEL WRIGHT:

Appendix Report No. 1: Activities of H. Wright in the Chicago area.

--In this appendix to Chicago SNCC's report I shall state, in general, my reasons for coming to and working in the Chicago area.

As of Nov. 15, 1966 I made my intentions of coming to the Chicago area to research for the Campus Traveling Dept. of SNCC to Mr. George Ware and Mrs. Ruby Doris Robinson; Mr. Ware by word of mouth, and Mrs. Robinson by letter. My ETA in Chicago was set for the first of December, 1966, after several arrangements for my stay here were planned and confirmed.

Following are the reasons for my work in the Chicago area: (1) to do research that would better prepare Campus Travelers for work on Black campuses on a nation-wide scale, (2) to do feasibility observations on an extension of the CTP into the greater Midwestern area, (3) to establish Midwestern contacts for the CTP, (4) to aid in the general office work of Chicago SNCC (which was a part of the agreement made in terms of my residing in the same), and (5) categorized as 'personal'.

I had planned to do research in five general areas for the Campus Traveling Dept., and, along with my research, some writing which should be of value to the CTP in general and SNCC staff also. The ultimate aim of my research was to formulate a series of lectures (or, as you may--work-shop briefs) aimed at Black college students. Four of these lectures would hinge around the major social phenomena confronting Black students today (Black history, the social realities of racism, the social realities of Moral Debasing, and the social realities of Class-Caste struggle) and the fifth being a treatise on SNCC and its dialectic.

Thus far the material for the paper on Black history has been gathered and fairly well compiled, the material for the paper on Class-Caste struggle (as such) has been gathered and has yet to be compiled. The materials concerning the social realities of racism are mostly in essay form (as opposed to documentary) and is fairly well compiled. The work on the social realities of Moral Debasing has barely been touched, for this being intrinsically the most complex of the five, would have required the most work and thus, an unequal distribution of time, of which I had little to begin with. Finally, the paper on SNCC for all practical intents is complete.

As far as the observations for an extension of the CTP to the Midwest this is all that is to be said: "In the Chicago area alone there are more Black people than in the entire state of Mississippi and in the Midwest area there are more Black collegians than in all of the southern Black campuses combined." These facts that can be found in any reliable almanac or a Census Dept. Report dictate the need!

I have thus far established dozens of very good Midwestern contacts, both on and off campus. This being done through meeting people at various functions and through speaking engagements at different colleges. A complete list will be submitted to the CTD at some later date.

A general description of the work that has gone on in the past month in the Chicago area, in which I have aided to one degree or another (mostly another), is outlined in another section of this report.

I do not chose to elaborate on my personal work in the Chicago area at this time, for to do so would tend to incriminate...

Michael Wright, SNCC
Campus Traveling Dept.

VIII. DEMONSTRATION

On September 15, 1967, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that since the beginning of the school year on September 7, 1967, some of the students attending Forrestville High School, 4401 South St. Lawrence, Chicago, have been "bussed in" from outside neighborhoods to attend the high school. There has been friction between these students and students from the local neighborhood. Forrestville has an all Negro student body and "bussed in" students are all Negro. The Second District has been requested by school authorities to furnish police to "keep the peace" in Forrestville High School.

On September 14, 1967, SNCC, planned a meeting at 43rd and Langley, about a block east of Forrestville High School, to begin at noon. This meeting was to protest the treatment received by a Negro girl, CORINNE ROBY, age 18, from police officers on September 11, 1967. ^{B APPROX 11}Reportedly, on September 11, 1967, police officers questioned a number of Negro youths near 44th Street and Cottage Grove, about two blocks from Forrestville High School. A scuffle ensued during the questioning and one of the youths attempted to strike one of the officers. CORINNE ROBY was standing in the area supposedly waiting for a ride from a boy friend. She is supposed to have attempted to cross the street against police orders and was pushed down by one of the officers.

The SNCC meeting occurred as planned with the speakers berating the Chicago Police Department for police brutality in the CORINNE ROBY incident. Leaflets were passed out which read:

"Police Tom squad beat and kicked black brothers and sisters at Forrestville. Meet at the wall, 4600 South Langley at 12:00 Noon. Don't go to school."

As a result of speeches made at the meeting, students from Forrestville proceeded south on Langley and St. Lawrence, throwing bricks and rocks at cars and police along the way.

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Three policemen and one teacher from Forrestville sustained injuries from missiles and were treated at local hospitals. Several police cars were damaged by bricks and rocks.

At the height of the disturbance approximately 300 people were in the vicinity of 43rd and Langley. An unknown sniper fired two shots from a building at 4302 South Langley. The sniper was not located.

As a result of the disturbance 54 people were arrested of which approximately 16 were juveniles.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page 1, column 3, disclosed that during April 15-17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nation-wide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page 6, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles of revolutionary socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957, by youth of various left socialist tendencies, particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

A characterization of "Young Socialist" is set out separately.

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE-CHICAGO

A source advised in late November, 1959, that the Young Socialist Alliance-Chicago (YSA-C), formerly known as Young Socialist Supporters, had its origin in a series of informal discussions held in Chicago prior to June, 1959, among individuals who were close to the Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

The YSA-C as of November, 1959, proclaimed itself to be a city-wide revolutionary youth organization designed to build socialism in America and aimed toward youth on college campuses in the Chicago area and as being independent of all adult groupings.

According to a second source in May, 1967, the YSA-C, also known as the University Young Socialists, was considered the youth group of the Chicago Branch SWP and affiliated with the national organization of the YSA in New York. The YSA-C officers as of May, 1967, were current members or sympathizers of the Chicago SWP.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

A source advised that on October 26-27, 1963, a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois, for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 19-21, 1964, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966, that MIKE ZAGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER was elected chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967, at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8-10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967, that JARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967, that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 34 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

W.F.B. DU BOIS CLUBS
OF CHICAGO (DCC)

On May 3, 1965, a source advised that on June 30, 1964, a group of young people who attended the founding convention of the W.F.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA) met in Chicago and adopted a statement of purpose and constitution forming the DCC as an affiliate of the national DCA.

A second source advised on May 1, 1967, that DCA chartered clubs in the Chicago area are the West Side DCC and the North Side DCC, neither of which currently maintain a headquarters. There is no central headquarters for the DCC and there are no unchartered clubs in this area.

The second source advised that the majority of DCC members are also members of the CP.

During the past year DCC activity has been almost nonexistent.

DEACONS OF DEFENSE AND JUSTICE, INC.,
Aka. Deacons for Defense and Justice, Inc.

The Articles of Incorporation of the Deacons of Defense and Justice (DDJ) as on file with the Secretary of State for the State of Louisiana, reflect that the Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc., is a Louisiana corporation domiciled at Jonesboro, Louisiana. The location and business office address of its registered office shall be Amos Service Station (rear), Beach Spring Road, Drawer B., Jonesboro, Louisiana.

"This corporation is organized for the following purposes and to carry on the following purposes:

"To instruct, train, teach and educate Citizens of the United States and especially minority groups in the fundamental principles of the republican form of government and our democratic way of life; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the provisions of the constitution and laws of the United States and the State of Louisiana, as well as the constitution and laws of any other state wherein this corporation may operate; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the use, value, and purpose of the ballot and the right to vote; to instruct, teach, train and educate said persons as to the duties and responsibilities of good citizenship relative to the obligation and duties of the community to the citizen; to further instruct, teach, train and educate said persons in the value of economic security and in the effective use of their spending power; to inspire in said persons a sense of responsibility and to develop leadership. This corporation has for its further purpose, and is dedicated to, the defense of the civil rights, property rights and personal rights of said people and will defend said rights by any and all honorable and legal means to the end that justice may be obtained. This corporation may establish chapters and conduct its business at any place in this State and elsewhere as permitted by law."

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

1.

APPENDIX

NATION OF ISLAM, Formerly referred to
as the Muslim Cult of Islam, also known
as Muhammad's Temples of Islam

In January, 1957, a source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD has described his organization on a nationwide basis as the "Nation of Islam" and "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

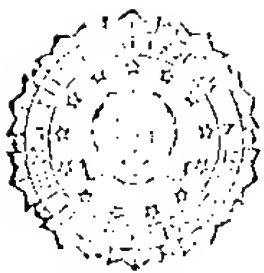
On May 5, 1967, a second source advised ELIJAH MUHAMMAD is the national leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI); Muhammad's Temple of Islam No. 2, 5335 South Greenwood Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, is the national headquarters of the NOI; and in mid-1960 MUHAMMAD and other NOI officials, when referring to MUHAMMAD's organization on a nationwide basis, commenced using either "Mosque" or "Temple" when mentioning one of "Muhammad's Temples of Islam."

The NOI is an all-Negro organization which was originally organized in 1930 in Detroit, Michigan. MUHAMMAD claims to have been selected by Allah, the Supreme Being, to lead the so-called Negro race out of slavery in the wilderness of North America by establishing an independent black nation in the United States. Members following MUHAMMAD's teachings and his interpretation of the "Koran" believe there is no such thing as a Negro; that the so-called Negroes are slaves of the white race, referred to as "white devils," in the United States; and that the white race, because of its exploitation of the so-called Negroes, must and will be destroyed in the approaching "War of Armageddon."

In the past, officials and members of the NOI, including MUHAMMAD, have refused to register under the provisions of the Selective Service Acts and have declared that members owe no allegiance to the United States.

On May 5, 1958, the first source advised MUHAMMAD had, upon advice of legal counsel, tempered his personal statements and instructions to his ministers concerning the principles of his organization in order to avoid possible prosecution by the United States government; however, he did not indicate any fundamental changes in the teachings of his organization.

On May 2, 1966, a third source advised MUHAMMAD had, early in July, 1958, decided to de-emphasize the religious aspects of the teachings of Islam and to stress the economic benefits to be derived by those Negroes who joined the NOI. This policy change, according to MUHAMMAD, would help him acquire additional followers and create more interest in his programs.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Chicago, Illinois
December 6, 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-40342

Title STUDENT NON-VIOLENT CO-ORDINATING
 COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character INTERNAL SECURITY - SNCC

Reference Report of Special Agent [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] dated and captioned
 as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

| | | | |
|--|---------|---------------------------------|---|
| CHICAGO | ATLANTA | DATE 1/1/68 | INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/6/67 - 4/10/68 |
| TITLE OF CASE | | REPORT MADE BY SA [REDACTED] | TYPED BY bab |
| STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC) | | CHARACTER OF CASE | |
| | | RM - SNCC | |

REFERENCE: Chicago report of SA [REDACTED], dated 12/6/67.

- P -

LEADS

CH I C A G O

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will forward and report pertinent information concerning Chicago Branch of SNCC concerning militant type activities of this organization.

- A -
COVER PAGE

| ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED | | | | RECOVERIES | ACQUIT- TALS | CASE HAS BEEN: |
|-------------------------|------|-------|---------|------------|-----------------|---|
| AUTO | TUG. | FINES | SAVINGS | | | |
| | | | | | | PENDING OVER ONE YEAR YES NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS YES NO |

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

FOR COPIES SEE COVER PAGE B.

100-439190-9-5.1

15 APR 22 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

| Dissemination Record of Attached Report | | Notes |
|---|------------------------------|-------|
| Agency | AFST, WFO, OSA, SEC SERV, IN | |
| Requester's name | WFO, SEC, CRR, Garm, IDIA | |
| Date of issue | 1968 | |
| Date of receipt | 1968 | |
| 54 MAY 7 1968 | | |

Notations

CG 100-40342

- (10) - Bureau (100-439190) (RM)
- 2 - Atlanta (100-6488) (RM)
- 1 - Region I, 113th MI Group,
Evanston (Via Courier)
- 1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago
(Via Courier)
- 1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
- 1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)
- 1 - Chicago (100-40342)

- B -
COVER PAGE

ADMINISTRATIVE

[REDACTED]

INFORMANTS

Source

Location

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of ISHMAEL
FLORY.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Instant report.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of FRED HAMPTON.

CG 100-40342

Source

Location

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

100-40342-1622

[REDACTED]

100-40342-1673

[REDACTED]

100-40342-1692

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Characterization of CASSIUS
CLAY.

[REDACTED]

100-40342-1810

[REDACTED]

100-40342-1849

CG 100-40342

Source

Location

[REDACTED]

100-40342-1675

[REDACTED]

157-1297-429

This report is classified confidential to protect sources [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] since data from these sources of continuing value could result in their being identified and so compromise their future effectiveness.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] CAROL LEE REDMOND and MONROE SHARP are now out of the country. [REDACTED]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

- 1 - Region I, 113th MI Group,
Evanston (Via Courier)
1 - U.S. Secret Service, Chicago
(Via Courier)
Copy to: 1 - NISO, Chicago (Via Courier)
1 - OSI, Chicago (Via Courier)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Report of: SA [REDACTED]
Date: *April 11, 1968*

Office: CHICAGO

Field Office File #: 100-40342

Bureau File #: 100-439190

Title: STUDENT NON-VIOLENT
COORDINATING COMMITTEE (SNCC)

Character: RACIAL MATTERS - STUDENT NON-VIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

Synopsis: Chicago Branch of SNCC office at 306 E. 43rd Street closed in 1/68, and SNCC legally evicted 3/13/68. ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC operated from residence at 11400 S. Vincennes, Chicago. SNCC activities since 12/6/67 have consisted of BROWN's speeches in Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis and demonstration at Valparaiso, Indiana. He has also travelled to Atlanta, Georgia, Bloomington, Indiana, New York and Washington, D.C. STOKELY CARMICHAEL's speeches in Chicago area, 3/24-26/68 set forth. SNCC leaflets and papers attached.

- P -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~Group 1~~
~~Excluded from Automatic~~
~~Downgrading and~~
~~Declassification~~

DETAILS:

A characterization of the following organizations mentioned in this report are in the appendix section:

^ Socialist Workers Party (SWP),
Chicago Branch

SWP, Cleveland Branch

(Friday Night Socialist Forum,
Also Known As
Militant Labor Forum

Friday Night Forum,
Also Known As
Friday Night Socialist Forum and
Formerly Known As
Twin Cities Labor Forum

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)
Nation of Islam (NOI)
, Deacons of Defense and Justice, Inc. (DDJ)

I. PREDICATION

This investigation is predicated upon the change of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) from a peaceful civil rights organization to a militant revolutionary organization advocating the uniting of Negroes throughout the world to bring about a world-wide revolution which includes guerrilla tactics by small groups operating independently who can destroy property and then make their escape.

II. ADDRESS OF ORGANIZATION

ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, with residence at 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago, advised that he has been evicted from the office at 306 East 43rd Street, and he would have to work "off the street corner" in the future.

[REDACTED] 2/5/68)

Available public records show that ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN was born June 5, 1948, in Chicago, Illinois. He graduated from Morgan Park High School, 1744 West Pryor Avenue, Chicago, on June 23, 1966.

JORJA ENGLISH is a Negro female approximately 30-35 years of age, a former school teacher whose husband teaches at Wendell Phillips High School in Chicago. She resides at 7932 South Yale, Chicago. She is an active member of the Chicago Chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

[REDACTED] 2/68)

CORE is a militant type oriented civil rights organization composed primarily of Negroes whose present aims include independent political campaigns, concern with slum housing, education, employment, minimum wages and recruitment of Negroes for the anti-draft movement.

[REDACTED] 1/5/68)

On March 18, 1968 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that on March 13, 1968, an eviction notice was served on the SNCC Office at 306 East 43rd Street, which was unoccupied. As of this date SNCC owed eight months rent totaling \$880.00. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated the Chicago Branch of SNCC originally occupied this second floor office space on February 1, 1967. ISHMAEL FLORY, Leader of the African-American Heritage Association (AAHA) had previously occupied these premises. [REDACTED] FLORY moved out and gave the office key to MONROE SHARP, the Chicago Branch of SNCC Director at that time. On May 24, 1967, MONROE SHARP turned the office key over to JOYCE BROWN, Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, who on that date signed a one year lease for the office space. In November, 1967, ROBERT BROWN, 11400 South Vincennes, paid two months' back rent of six months rent owed on the office space [REDACTED]

ISHMAEL FLORY is a member of the State Committee of the Communist Party (CP) of Illinois.

[REDACTED] 3/2/68)

ALBERT MONROE SHARP, former Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, male Negro, born July 3, 1940, at Chicago, Illinois and CAROL LEE REDMOND, former Secretary, white female, born January 5, 1933 in Illinois, are presently residing in Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania.

[REDACTED] 1/29/68)

JOYCE BROWN, former Administrative Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, has left Chicago and has returned to the South.

[REDACTED] 9/28/67)

On January 29, 1968 [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] related the following information regarding the Chicago Branch of SNCC:

The Chicago Branch of SNCC's primary function was as a fund raising organization for the National Headquarters at Atlanta. However, when STOKELY CARMICHAEL, then National Director of SNCC, appeared at Mandel Hall, University of Chicago, in January, 1967, he changed the policy to an activist militant role. At this time, MONROE SHARP and [REDACTED] CAROL LEE REDMOND, were leading the Chicago Branch of SNCC as Director and Secretary, respectively.

[REDACTED] they were replaced by JOYCE BROWN.

JOYCE BROWN was ineffective as a SNCC leader in the Chicago area. The leaders of the militant Negro groups could not tolerate a woman being in charge of a similar group and demanded that she be replaced by a man. She was eventually replaced by ROBERT BROWN.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

On February 19 1968

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] stated that ROBERT BROWN is presently running SNCC from his residence. [REDACTED] estimated it has been over a month since anyone has been observed going into or leaving the SNCC office. [REDACTED] who has considerable past experience in the legitimate civil rights organizations affairs, was of the opinion that the majority of the Negroes who previously had frequented the SNCC office were the drop-outs and dregs of the Negro society that gravitate from one hate group to another. [REDACTED] did not believe that ROBERT BROWN had over three people that he could count on and consider as members of the local SNCC group. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] To his knowledge, the SNCC office has not been occupied since the time of his investigation and he understands ROBERT BROWN is conducting his business from his residence.

[REDACTED] stated the walls inside the SNCC office are covered with signs, clipped articles, pictures, leaflets and paintings extolling the virtues of such communist leaders as CASTRO, HO CHI MINH and MAO TZE TUNG. [REDACTED] felt it was quite disgraceful for a Negro organization to foster such a violent anti-American attitude.

[REDACTED]

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC, received \$900.00 for his speaking appearances in the Chicago area from March 24 through 26, 1968. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 3/26/68)

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 4/2/68)

[REDACTED]

The "Chicago Defender" newspaper in its weekly edition dated January 4, 1968, carried an article on page 3 concerning an interview of ROBERT BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC, age 19, who resided at 11400 South Vincennes, Chicago. BROWN's 1968 program for SNCC was stated as follows:

"We view the year 1968 as a crucial one as far as black liberation is concerned. The northern black ghetto must be organized and black consciousness must be solidified. SNCC's program here will center around politics, the draft, and education. SNCC will attempt to obtain 20,000 to 30,000 signatures on a petition to free H. RAP BROWN, the National SNCC Leader so he can travel."

The article continued by stating that ROBERT BROWN replaced Chicago SNCC's Director JOYCE BROWN (no relation) six weeks ago.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 11/10/67)

ACT was a militantly oriented civil rights group principally active on Chicago's west side with an office located on the near south side. Individuals affiliated with ACT have associated with various "black power" groups in Chicago. ACT is now defunct. Its leader, LAWRENCE LANDRY, male Negro, has been arrested a number of times in connection with local demonstrations.

[REDACTED] 1/5/68)

One purpose of STOKELY CARMICHAEL's recent visit to Chicago from March 24 through 26, 1968, was to get the Chicago Negro youth gangs to stop fighting one another and join his black power movement organization.

[REDACTED] 3/28/68)

ROBERT SMITH, also known as YAREE AMEER, VERNON RANDOLPH, BOBBY VANCE WALTON, ROBERT VANCE WALTON and JAMES WILLIAMS is Direct Action Coordinator of the Chicago Branch of SNCC. He is a male Negro, born July 11, 1946 at Norfolk, Virginia. He served one year in the Illinois State Prison System for aggravated battery from September, 1964 to September, 1965.

[REDACTED]

III. CHICAGO BRANCH OF SNCC COOPERATION WITH SOCIALIST AND RADICAL GROUPS

A. SWP

On November 24, 1967, ROBERT BROWN arrived at approximately 9:00 p.m., Friday night at the Militant Labor Forum, Debs Hall, 302 South Canal, Chicago, to address the approximately 45 people in attendance. BROWN apologized for being late stating he had attended a black student conference on the south side. He said people must learn that there is no room for precise planning in these times of chaos.

BROWN began his presentation by reading a poem about black brothers getting their heads beat in by white cops. He then read a 10 minute prepared speech covering the topic of "Black Power, Its Role In The International Scene." He said that in the impending Black Revolution there would be no room for personal feelings, wants or desires. The individual does not count, but only the cause and the ultimate goal.

After finishing the prepared text, BROWN spoke extemporaneously. He stated the Chicago high school riots were no accident, but were planned. He said the Waller High School students had been waiting for three weeks for the Englewood High School incident, which was the signal for them to act. Cooley Vocational High School and Crane Tech High School, were prepared to riot at the same time, but there had been a breakdown in communications. This will not occur in the next violent occurrence, which will occur shortly. BROWN said the high school tactic is designed to divert the Chicago Police Force to various parts of the City to spread their ranks thin so that SNCC can take other activity elsewhere. He commented that the stories about the high school riots because a black teacher got fired, or a black boy got injured on the north side are "bull (obscene)" and that this is the excuse put out by the "System."

BROWN indicated he could care less if a black teacher gets fired. He considers the one over which the incident occurred nothing but an "(obscene)Tom" anyway. BROWN's intention is to close every "mother (obscene)" white racist school in Chicago through rioting. He considered that the black students would be better off without a white oriented education about Western culture until SNCC can set up their own schools with their own teachers and programs. The immediate objectives for the Negro students are that they learn the techniques of demolition, sabotage and how to kill the white man, who is their only enemy.

BROWN indicated the Negro race is a violent race. They are always killing one another in the ghettos. SNCC must now teach the Negro how to turn this violence against the white man. He believes they can, and that the Negro will win because the white man is afraid of SNCC and the Negro. The Negroes know this as well as the white people.

BROWN assured the people there will be no Democratic National Convention in Chicago, in 1968. The convention people may appear to operate the affair, but he guaranteed that no white people would dare to attend the convention. The Black Revolution is here and the signal to begin the revolution is "just around the corner."

BROWN continued that he is no longer worried about shutting down the Englewood High School because "we" intend to burn it down. He doesn't worry about black people being refused admittance at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, because soon there will be no Conrad Hilton Hotel. He doesn't worry about a gasoline shortage, because every gas station in Chicago is going to be a Molotov cocktail. He indicated that the Negro doesn't need an education to win a revolution. As an example he cited Mayor Richard J. Daley as an individual who has no education and indicated BROWN's two year old child talks better than DALEY and "look where he got."

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former National Director of SNCC, is returning to the United States. He is being protected by five Cuban bodyguards. BROWN said FIDEL CASTRO, Premier of Cuba, has indicated that if any harm comes to CARMICHAEL, CASTRO will cause reprisals elsewhere. On his return CARMICHAEL is going to make Chicago his first speaking engagement. Chicago is scheduled to be the first SNCC target for violence.

BROWN stated SNCC's plans to thwart law enforcement include killing every "Black Tom cop" they can locate. SNCC has a complete list of these individuals and they will not escape. They intend to kill every "Tom Nigger" that does not join them on the battle line. There are to be no neutrals. Those that are not with them will be killed. This also includes white people. Those that fight along with them and take their orders will survive otherwise they will be killed. BROWN said this is no longer a local program, but an international

movement and that there are nine hundred million black people in the world waiting to turn on the white man and destroy him.

BROWN said SNCC is no longer a protest group, but is now a revolutionary movement. He indicated SNCC recently gained non-government status in the United Nations. SNCC is preparing to present the Black American case to the United Nations. If the United Nations does not take immediate action against the United States, SNCC is prepared to take over the country. They will do this eventually. At the present time, JAMES FOREMAN, former National Director of SNCC, is residing in New York and has been sending black volunteers abroad. These volunteers are being placed in a fighting or education category and are being sent particularly to African Nations to learn these tasks. The fighters are sent into jungles to become skilled killers and warfare experts. Many of them are learning this under true conditions. The others are sent to technical schools and factories. Their skills will insure that after the successful revolution a smooth transition will take place.

BROWN said that a clash with Federal troops was averted in Gary, Indiana, several weeks ago. This was only because RICHARD HATCHER won the mayoralty by ballot. If this had not occurred, "they" would have declared HATCHER Mayor and placed him in office by force if needed.

BROWN commented that old Negro leaders such as WHITNEY YOUNG and Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. must retire and let the young men assume power. If they oppose their policies they will be killed.

BROWN indicated he was aware he was giving away SNCC plans, but that the authorities couldn't do anything about them anyway. He knew who the "stool pigeons" and "Toms" are and at the appropriate time they would be killed. He presently was in the possession of rifles worth two to three thousand dollars that would be used at the appropriate time.

BROWN said the United States Government was preparing the Black Americans for genocide. He said after the Watts Riot, Negro children were sent to farms that were called recreation camps. He contended that in reality these were concentration camps, set up by the Government to determine how rapidly Black Negro youths could be confined.

[REDACTED] 11/30/67)

[REDACTED] 11/28/67)

On December 8, 1967, ROBERT BROWN spoke as a guest speaker at the Militant Forum, Debs Hall, 9801 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, before approximately 35 people. The theme of his talk was "Segregation, Negroes may have to use violent methods to achieve objectives and a Socialist United States system is the only salvation for Negroes."

[REDACTED] 12/12/67)

On January 6, 1968, ROBERT BROWN spoke before approximately 40 people at the Twin Cities Socialist Forum meeting held at 704 Hennepin Avenue. Room 240, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

[REDACTED] 1/8/68)

B. SDS

ROBERT BROWN, Director, Chicago Branch of SNCC was guest speaker at an anti-draft rally held at the Epiphany Episcopal Church, Ashland and Adams Street, Chicago, on January 8, 1968, sponsored by SDS and the Chicago Area Draft Resisters (CADRE). BROWN advocated using dynamite to bomb the Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago later this year; bombing of oil refineries specifically mentioning Standard Oil but not service stations because Soul Brothers might be killed. BROWN did not know how the white people feel about the war but stated all Negroes are very serious about protesting the illegal war in Vietnam. BROWN shouted that there would be no Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

[REDACTED] 1/12/68)

IV. OTHER ACTIVITIES

A. ROBERT ALFONZO BROWN's Speeches

On December 5, 1967, BROWN was a guest speaker at Bogan City College, 3939 West 79th Street, Chicago. He was among six "Great Debate" speakers who spoke to the students at the college. BROWN stated, "Niggers are not going to be kept in place much longer. He added that there must be a redistribution of private property in the United States, even if there is a revolution needed to accomplish this. BROWN further stated that if Negroes don't achieve their rightful share of products from industries, cities must burn."

[REDACTED], 12/7/67)

On January 24, 1968, ROBERT BROWN spoke to an audience of approximately 45 Negroes, both adults and teenagers, of the local neighborhood at the Field House in Washington Park, Chicago, Illinois. BROWN stated that the Negro must obtain his freedom and black power at any cost. If any people get in his way, either black or white, he would get rid of them in one way or another. The black revolution is coming and nothing the white man can do will stop it. He is out for a full scale revolution. To him there is no such thing as integration.

Concerning the 1968 Democratic National Convention to be held in Chicago, BROWN assured those present that it would not take place. He said that his group SNCC does not have any particular strategy planned and probably will not have any until a week or so before the convention is held. He described the convention as a hoax, not for the black man, only to perpetuate the white power structure. He commented to the effect that this Government is oppressing all black people and is fighting the colored people all over the world. He discredited the Government, stating he has no country or government and has nothing to lose.

[REDACTED] 1/25/68)

On March 22, 1968, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] advised that approximately 200 people attended a fund raising affair for H. RAP BROWN, National Director of SNCC at the Christ Methodist Church, 6401 South Sangamon, Chicago, on March 21, 1968. The meeting lasted from 8:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m. The affair was described as a closed black power meeting. ROBERT BROWN spoke at this meeting and urged Negroes to arm themselves instead of marching and suggested a takeover of the Cook County Jail in an attempt to free all Negro prisoners.

[REDACTED] Corporation Counsel's Office, City of Chicago, advised on January 30, 1968, that the Corporation Counsel's Office is aware of ROBERT BROWN's activities in connection with SNCC and also statements made by him at various meetings. [REDACTED] advised that unless there is a clear and present danger that BROWN's activities or statements will incite a mob or create a riot, no prosecution of BROWN will be considered by that office. [REDACTED] feels that there has been no information developed to date indicating a clear and present danger of mob violence or rioting resulting from BROWN's statements or actions as of this date. If such information is developed in the future, prosecution will be considered under the charge Soliciting for Mob Violence.

B. STOKELY CARMICHAEL'S SPEECHES
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS AREA

On March 25, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that on Sunday afternoon, March 24, 1968, FRED HAMPTON, President, The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) Youth Council, Maywood, Illinois, personally contacted Negroes in the Maywood community to attend an impromptu meeting at the Masonic Temple, 13th and Madison Streets, Maywood, Illinois, where STOKELY CARMICHAEL, former Director of SNCC would speak. Approximately 200 Negroes responded to this invitation and paid \$1.00 apiece admission fee to hear CARMICHAEL speak. At approximately 4:00 p.m. on this date CARMICHAEL arrived at the Masonic Temple in a late model Cadillac accompanied by five unknown Negro males.

CARMICHAEL spoke for approximately one hour on the themes of Negro segregation from the white race and the history of the Negroes. He also commented on how to achieve "black power" in Maywood, Illinois. He recommended that the immediate objective should be total boycott of white merchants in Maywood, who after they are forced out of business should be taken over and operated by Negroes. A tentative target then set for starting the boycott was May 20 or 21, 1968, which would coincide with the death of a martyred Negro leader. The source was unable to recall the name of the martyred individual.

The source recalled that CARMICHAEL stated in a question and answer session following his speech, "While MARTIN LUTHER KING goes about his non-violent way, I am getting the guns ready."

[REDACTED]

The source advised that the program was well attended, held without incidents and there were no arrests by the Maywood Police.

Concerning FRED HAMPTON, a source has advised that HAMPTON has been instrumental in causing past racial disturbances in the Maywood, Illinois area.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] 4/68)

On March 25, 1968, [REDACTED] advised that the Garfield Organization, a Chicago west side community organization under the direction of primarily religious leaders, which attempts to maintain and improve the conditions of this Negro neighborhood, held an annual fund raising program on the evening of Sunday, March 24, 1968, at a Union Hall of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, 5247 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois. Tickets were sold and women from the neighborhood prepared food, which was served. EARTHA KITT, nationally known Negro female actress and entertainer performed at this affair..

Also appearing on the program were local musical groups, DICK GREGORY, Negro comedian civil rights activist and MUHAMMAD ALI, formerly known as CASSIUS CLAY.

STOKELY CARMICHAEL made an impromptu appearance and said a few words which were generally in a humorous manner.

The source advised that the program was well attended, held without incidents and there were no arrests made by the Chicago Police Department.

The source advised the above listed individuals commented as follows:

EARTHA KITT urged national Negro unity and preached against race hatred. CASSIUS CLAY commented that black women should be protected from exploitation. DICK GREGORY commented that if conditions of the Negro do not improve, this summer may see a resumption of racial violence.

RICHARD GREGORY is a Negro male and nationally known entertainer. He ran for Mayor of Chicago as an independent write-in candidate in the local elections in March, 1967. He has led and participated in numerous civil rights demonstrations in Chicago in the past. He has been arrested in Chicago on a number of occasions in connection with these activities. He is considered a "Maverick" who does not lend his support exclusively to any particular civil rights group but will participate in civil rights activities which appear to appeal to him personally.

[REDACTED] 3/68)